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THE  
**Archaeological Journal,**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE COUNCIL

OF

**The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great  
Britain and Ireland,**

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF

RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

**The Early and Middle Ages.**

VOLUME LXIII. No. 249.

SECOND SERIES, VOL. XIII. No. 1.

MARCH, 1906.

*[Issued Quarterly to Members only.  
Price per Volume to Members, 15s. 6d.]*

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(See list of Publications, page 3 of this wrapper.)

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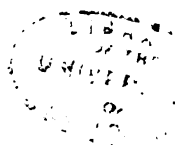
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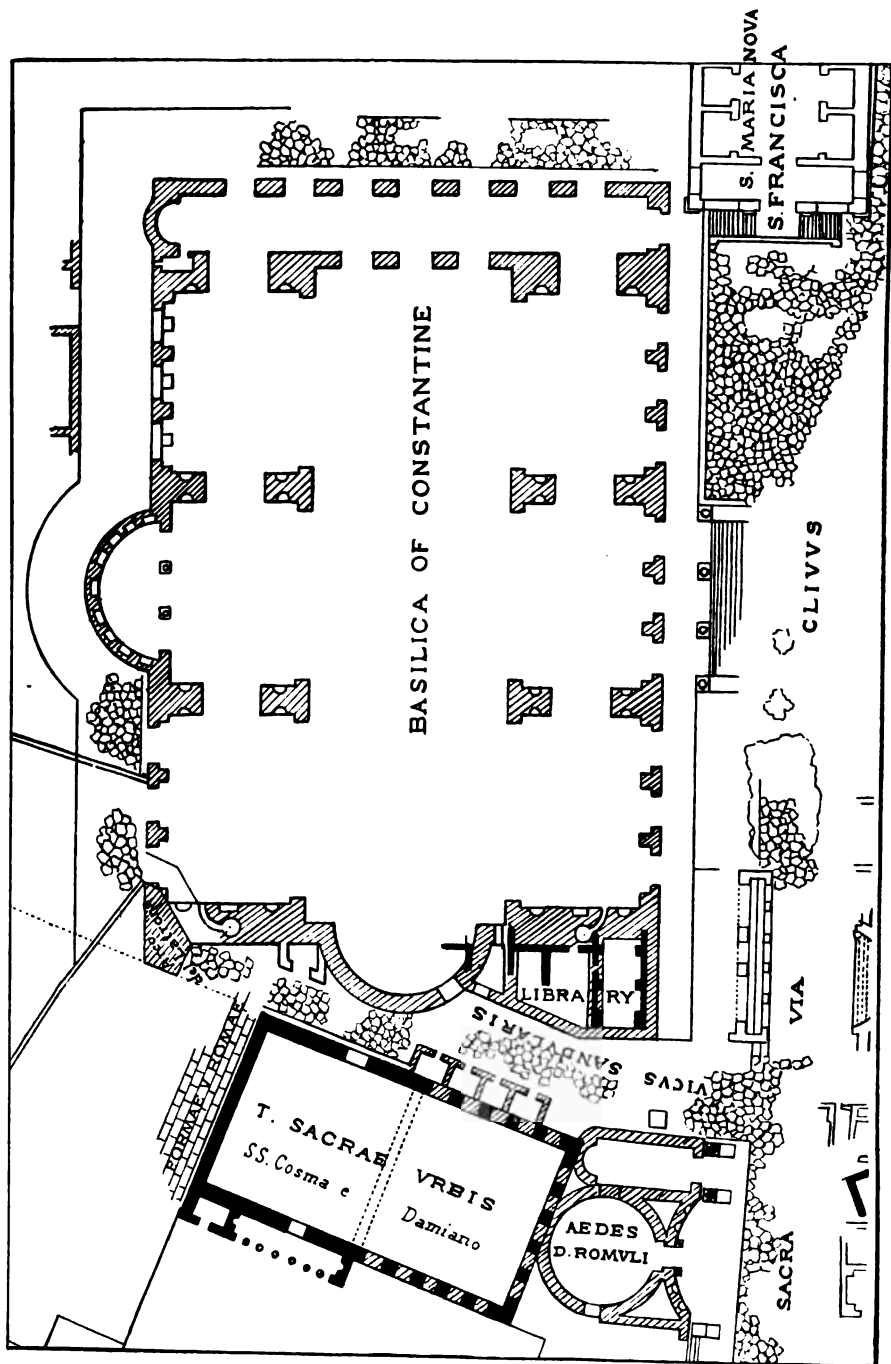
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PLAN OF THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE AND ITS VICINITY.





VIEW OF THE PORTICO, EAST FRONT.



## THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

By S. RUSSELL FORBES, Ph.D.

The most impressive ruin in Rome is surely the three immense arches of the so-called Basilica of Constantine (Plate I), a name given to it by Nibby in 1828, on the strength of a silver denarius, found in a piece of the fallen roof, inscribed *MAXENTIVS Pius Felix AVGustus*. Prior to this date it was known as the Temple of Peace. It stands upon an artificial platform, a building out of the Velia ridge, 7,000 yards square. This grand edifice fronted towards the east (The Colosseum), three of the arches of the portico still remaining (Plate II). The interior consists of a nave and side aisles; the nave, 274 feet long by 84 feet wide, was spanned by a noble cross-groined vault 152 feet high. Facing into it are the three arches 80 feet span, and 95 feet high on the north side, only the piers of the south arches exist; the aisles, running through these arches, are 60 feet wide. Against the piers of the nave were Corinthian fluted columns of pavonazzetto marble, the third one of the right side now stands in front of Sta. Maria Maggiore, placed there by Paul V. in 1613, to support the bronze statue of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (Plate III). The capital is beautifully executed and far superior to anything of the time of Constantine. Sangallo used one of the bases for St. Peter's, and another was expropriated for the pedestal of the statue of Alexander Farnese in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In the thickness of the wall of the north-east angle is a spiral (Newel) staircase leading up on to the roof, fifty-four steps of a similar staircase exist in the north-west angle; a huge fragment of this staircase lies on the marble pavement at the rear of SS. Cosma and Damiano.

After defeating Maxentius, October 27th, 312, Flavius Valerius Constantine turned this edifice into a Basilica, or Court of Justice, as no more Pagan temples were required, he cut down the windows along the south side and turned them into doorways, erecting a portico with four red porphyry columns and a flight of steps down to the Clivus Sacra Via (Plate IV); he removed the straight wall at the north side of the central arch and inserted a hemicycle tribunal pierced with niches for statues. In the centre is the imperial throne, with corbels sculptured with victories which sustained a florid cornice on which the assessors of the court could be seated; the marble base which supported the lattice railing off the tribunal remains *in situ*. Then he filled up the windows of the north side in the other two arches. Next he built up from the street, Vicus Sandularis, at the west end a tribunal, under which is a crypt 41 feet west to east, and  $54\frac{1}{2}$  feet north to south, in which was placed a colossal marble statue of Constantine, the head and other fragments found in 1490 are now preserved in the court of the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline hill (Plate V). The south side and the nave were thrown down probably by the earthquake of 1349. Granaries and smitheries were removed in 1878-80. During 1904-5 parts of the marble pavement, with fragments of stucco ornamentation and portions of the coffers of the vaulting have been uncovered. After these alterations of Constantine, from whichever portico it was entered, it presents to view a nave with a tribunal at the end and an aisle on each side.

The Vindobon Chronicle says Domitian built "eight courts of spice warehouses where is now the Basilica of Constantine and the Forum of Vespasian." Remains of these warehouses were uncovered under the south front of the Basilica in 1899-1900. They had been gutted in the fire of 192. *Herodian*, 1, 14. *Dion Cassius*, 72, 24.

"Besides the entire work, which was magnificently constructed, the Temple of the city (SS. Cosma and Damiano), and the Basilica, consecrated by the Fathers (the Senate), to the merits of the Flavii." Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, XL, 26.



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BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE. SOUTH FRONT.

The Notitia (not later than 334 A.D.) mentions "Basilicam Constantinianem" as in the fourth region. The *Curiosum Urbis* (after 357) does not mention it, without it is intended in the notice "Basilicam Novam et Pauli." I believe that refers to the new Basilica of Paulus Æmilius rebuilt by Maxentius after the fire of 283.

If we remove the alterations of Constantine's time, this edifice has nothing in common with a basilica, and we may ask why Maxentius wanted a new Basilica when there were three close by in the Forum Romanum, Æmilia, Julia and Opimia. I believe the old topographers were correct and that in this grand ruin we really have remains of the Temple of Peace. "In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus, the Temple of Peace was dedicated." A.D. 75. *Dion Cassius*, 66, 15. "One of the finest works the world has ever beheld." (*Pliny*, 36, 24.) "Near the Forum Romanum." (*Suetonius Vespasian*, 9.) "One of the most beautiful and magnificent edifices in all the city." *Herodian*, 1, 45.

"The Fire (A.D. 192) not only consumed the Temple and the whole circle of buildings about it, but communicated itself to most of the finest structures in the city; and among the rest the Temple of Vesta was burnt." *Herodian*, 1, 45. Aulus Gellius speaks of a public library attached to the Temple, which was also burnt, 5, 21, 9. 16, 8, 2. This is the hall at the south-west end, reached by a door to the left of the west tribunal.

The Temple was probably restored by Septimius Severus as Trebellius Pollio speaks of it in the time of Victoria, A.D. 268, he wrote in the fourth century. Procopius de Bello Gothico, 4, 13, writes: "The ancient Temple of Peace which had been thunder-stricken." This is the last historical notice that we have of it, 526-34.

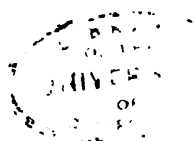
Maxentius, who did so much to revive the old Pagan beliefs and buildings, evidently restored the Temple of Peace, which was really a museum. *Josephus*, B.J. 7, 5, 7. *Pliny*, 34, 19. 35, 36. After Constantine's changes it was still often called the Temple of Peace. Pollio, *Triginta Tyranni*, 30, 31, 2. The *Mirabilia* calls it the Temple of Peace and Latona, and the Anonymus

Magliabecchianus speaks of the Temple of Peace as between S. Cosmo and S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca), and this exactly describes its situation. Latona was the mother of Apollo and Diana, but Latona here is probably derived from the Arco del Latrone under the north-west corner of the Basilica, a short tunnel in the Vicus Sandularius leading into the Carinae.

Entering the Basilica of Constantine from the east portico, it is evident that from this edifice Michael Angelo obtained his model for St. Peter's.



COLOSSAL HEAD OF CONSTANTINE IN THE COURT OF THE CONSERVATORI.



## ON LOW SET OPENINGS IN DANISH AND OTHER SCANDINAVIAN CHURCHES.<sup>1</sup>

By AMBROSE P. BOYSON, Esq.

I feel that I owe an explanation for the title under which I introduce this subject to the readers of the *Archaeological Journal*.

I have adopted it, in the first place, because it is a literal translation of the expression which Danish writers on the subject make use of when alluding to this feature in their churches; and, in the second place, because I venture to think it is a more correct method of description than those which we now, or in the past, have been accustomed to employ with reference to the corresponding feature in our churches; and, at the same time, as having the merit of not committing us to any special theory as to the use of these openings.

My attention was first drawn to the circumstance that openings of this character were found in Danish churches by a short article from the pen of the late Dr. Neale, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the Ecclesiological Society* for 1853, and, although its contents may be familiar to many of my readers, I think it desirable to make some quotations from it for the purpose of recalling the views which he entertained with reference to the number and distribution of these objects in Denmark.

With regard to their frequency, he writes:

"It is not well, if it be at all, known, that lychnoscopes occur in Denmark quite as frequently as in England. I have traced them in the proportion of twenty-eight out of one hundred and forty-eight churches clearly and distinctly, besides instances which are of less indubitable character, and those examples which I very probably missed, before I knew where to look for traces of the arrangement with the greatest chance of finding them."

<sup>1</sup> Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute on March 7th, 1906.

And concerning distribution :

"Lychnoscopes occur much more frequently in the islands than in Jutland, and in the islands they are oftenest to be found in the southern portion, Oerøe, Langeland, Laaland, Falster and Moen. Of all the islands, Laaland seems to contain the most. They generally occur in churches which lie on or near to some high road, and on that side of the church by which the high road passes. In the wild parts of Jutland, where the churches occur in the middle of the most savage heaths and wildernesses, I believe I may safely say that they are never to be found. And by the same rule neither is there any trace of them in the very small islands."

Dr. Neale mentions by name fourteen churches in which he considers he found this feature existing at the time he was travelling in the country. I have been at pains to visit several of the churches he alludes to, and, although my attempts to find what he records have been a series of failures, it is, perhaps, well that I should briefly refer to them, so that others should not waste time in endeavouring to trace them.

The first church he mentions is *St. Michael's* at Sleswig, where he found traces of a rude lancet, blocked, and in the usual position. (Sleswig was Danish when he wrote.) I visited this city in 1904, but the church he saw fell in when under repair in 1870, and the present building is entirely modern, and, unfortunately, bears no resemblance to the original structure, which was of very unusual plan, in the main circular, with an apse as an eastern termination. Others that he refers to, and which I have visited, are *Sækkjöbing*, *Juellinge*, and *Nakskov*, in the Island of Laaland, but no signs of what he describes can now be found.

Of *Mariboe*, the cathedral church of the diocese of Laaland Falster, he writes :

"The lychnoscopic arrangement here is striking. The ground plan of this church is remarkable, as reversing that commonly in use. The chancel has aisles, the nave has none ; the dimensions of the former, both in length and height, are far greater than those of the latter, so that the first external view would lead a stranger to mistake the one for the other and to imagine that the builders of the church had orientated it west and east. Internally all along the aisles are low pointed recesses. But in the two westernmost recesses of the south aisle a square aperture has been broken through the brick wall at the height of about two feet. It would seem that in the first instance provision was not made for the want, whatever that want might be, and that a later and ruder hand opened the aperture in question."

This paragraph is altogether rather puzzling. The cathedral at Mariboe was originally a Bridgetine church, and the churches of this Order always had the chief choir (for the Sisters) at the west end; thus, the building, a brick structure of the commencement of the fifteenth century, was intentionally orientated in that way, and the altar remains at the west end to this day. There are traces of two apertures at the west end of the south wall of the nave having been bricked up in recent years, and, presumably, these are what Dr. Neale saw open, but their position is not the correct one for low set openings in a Bridgetine church. The rules of this Order direct that "in the wall behind the seats of the Brother's choir, at the north end, there shall be five windows near the ground, through which the Sisters shall confess and receive the Body of God." The Sisters' conventual buildings were on the north side of this church; consequently the openings should be looked for at the east end of the north wall. There are ruins of a Bridgetine church at Mariager, in East Jutland, but no trace of low set openings remains. I shall refer to this subject again when alluding to the Bridgetine church at Vadstena, in Sweden.

With reference to the St. Hans Kirke at *Odense* (Plate I, Fig. 1), in the Island of Fyen, Dr. Neale makes the following observations:

"Here is one of the most remarkable lychnoscopes I ever saw. At the east end of the north side of the north aisle is a three-light window; under it, in a kind of projecting basement, are two very small apertures, in their breadth about double the height, and a well-turned four-centred arch. Contrary to the usual rule, these lychnoscopes are splayed on the outside very deeply, in the interior scarcely at all. It deserves particular notice that they are placed in the most conspicuous part of the whole church and opposite to the principal entrance to the churchyard. They can scarcely fail at once to catch the eye of anyone approaching the church, and the whole effect makes it clear that a conspicuous place was purposely chosen for them, because it was important that the most casual passer-by might have his attention directed to them. They are so small and so awkwardly situated for such a purpose, that to hand out anything through them (especially since the splay is external) must have been almost out of the question."

Here, again, there is no vestige of what he describes, a modern sacristy having been built on to the north



aisle at the end he alludes to. However, by the courtesy of Dr. Möllerup, Chief of the Historical Department in the National Museum of Copenhagen, I am able to exhibit a photograph of a drawing in their collection of the north side of the church made in 1877 (Plate I, Fig. 1), which shows the two openings to which Dr. Neale alludes. From their place in the church, I should be disposed to think they might have some different use from those openings in the normal position in the south wall of the chancel. In passing, it may be worth while to call attention to an interesting feature in this church in the shape of a shuttered opening in the south-west buttress, approached by stairs in the buttress (Plate I, Fig. 2), from which opening, tradition says, the preacher addressed lepers standing in the churchyard below; however, I should add that there is no documentary evidence confirmatory of this. The church, a brick structure, belonged to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and is of the commencement of the fourteenth century.

My want of success in tracing any of the examples which Dr. Neale recorded as existing in the Danish Islands, led me to enquire of Professor Kornerup, of Roskilde, who is considered the first authority on the churches in the Island dioceses, whether he could give me any information on the subject; and in replying he expresses himself as very astonished that Dr. Neale should have found any such openings in the Danish Islands, as he had visited nearly every ancient church in these districts, and had never seen one himself.

In the extract from Dr. Neale's paper, which I have already quoted, he expressed his conviction that this feature occurred more frequently in the Islands than in Jutland, and that in the wilder parts of Jutland they were practically non-existent. This opinion, however, is quite at variance with the researches of my friend, Mr. Uldall, architect, Knight of the Dannebrog, of Randers, who has made a special study of the ancient churches of Jutland and has visited every one of them himself. In his monograph on "The Windows of the Jutland Granite Churches," *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1894, pp. 289 and 296, he

✦ St. Hans Church, Odense, Denmark



FIG. 1.—ST. HANS CHURCH, ODENSE.



FIG. 2.—PULPIT IN BUTTRESS OF ST. HANS CHURCH, ODENSE.



records no less than twenty examples, of which eighteen are in what may be called the normal position, *i.e.*, in the south wall of the chancel, and about 3 feet from the chancel arch wall, and he is of opinion that many more have existed, but are now so concealed by blocking and whitewash, that it is impossible to detect them.

Before proceeding to describe in detail those of the above-named low set openings which I have myself seen, it may be convenient to refer to the views of the Danish authorities, most conversant with the subject, as to the age of the granite churches of Jutland, and to give a brief and very general description of their leading characteristics. The number of ancient churches still existing in Jutland is between 900 and 950, of which about 700 are constructed of granite, a remarkable number when we consider that Jutland is not much larger in size than the combined counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and that, at the period when these churches were built, by far the greater part of the country consisted of moorland and morass. The earlier and more carefully built are of hewn squared blocks, the later erections of rough or rubble granite. The oldest dated church is at Gjellerup, where, round the tympanum over the now blocked south door, is an inscription in Latin to the effect that the church was founded in the year 1140, but authorities are divided in opinion as to the time when the largest number were erected. Professor Jacob Helms, in his Preface to the drawings and plans of *Sallinglands Kirker, Rødding Herred*, executed by Mr. Uldall, expresses the opinion that a considerable number of those churches built of squared granite blocks were erected in the twelfth century, and that the remainder mostly date from the first half of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, Mr. Uldall, who has a far more intimate acquaintance with the Jutland churches than anyone else, is strongly convinced, supported by careful examination of all the churches in the peninsula, that extremely few were erected in the twelfth century; that the majority of those built of hewn granite blocks are of the thirteenth century, and that a not inconsiderable number of those constructed of rough or rubble granite were only erected in the

fourteenth century. There is, however, a consensus of opinion that the ruder rubble work was of a later period than the churches built of the well-finished granite squares. That the building of these granite churches extended over a rather long period of time is certainly no cause for wonder; indeed, considering the sparse population and the difficulty of working in such a hard material, it is evidence of great religious zeal that such a large number should have been erected within the time limit in question. It is perhaps superfluous to remark that granite was used for these earlier churches, because it was the only building material available; the country is covered with erratic blocks of this mineral, and no other building stone is found in the peninsula.

With regard to the architecture, they are all Romanesque in style, and vary in size according to the requirements of the district; the great majority are village churches, and are consequently small. In their original state they consisted of a nave, without aisles, terminating in a gable at each end; a chancel, also terminating in a gable, and, not infrequently, with an apse attached. The nave is usually 6 feet to 8 feet wider than the chancel. The outer walls are mostly about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick and the chancel arch wall about 3 feet. The chancel arch in the village church was generally narrow and low, springing from plainly moulded imposts and bearing a close resemblance to those in some of our early Norman churches. There are usually north and south doors, generally plain and rectangular, the jambs consisting of small granite squares, or an upright slab of granite; occasionally, and especially in the larger churches, they are round-headed with shafts, capitals and tympana. Priests' doors are uncommon in Jutland. The windows were few, high set, small, splayed internally and externally, and round-headed, the head generally monolithic. The number of windows in the nave was usually four, two in the north wall, and two in the south wall; but in some of the quite small churches there was only one in each wall. In the chancel there were usually three, one in each wall. Where an apse occurs, it was sometimes lighted by circular windows and occasionally, but very rarely, by alternate

circular and quatrefoil openings. Arcading of a pilaster-like character is also occasionally found on the apse. The original roofs were of timber. The churches in their pristine state were almost always without towers or bell turrets, and the bell was probably hung in a separate bell tower, as is still frequently the case in Sweden and Norway. The original fonts are of granite; the larger number plain, but a considerable proportion rudely sculptured. They are now almost invariably placed either in the north side of the chancel or under the chancel arch, but originally they stood in their proper place at the west end; the alteration in position probably took place about the year 1600. The alms dish frequently forms a cover to the font. The altars were originally of stone (in Jutland usually granite), and some still remain, although they are now mostly supplanted by wooden tables with altar-pieces of various dates from the sixteenth century to modern times.

So far our description has been of the church as originally built, but in later mediaeval times, mostly in the fifteenth century, brick towers were added (generally with "saddle-back" roofs, the gables facing sometimes east and west, sometimes north and south; occasionally there are broach spires), thereby destroying or obscuring the original west gable, and at the same time the east gables both of nave and chancel were altered by rebuilding them in stepped brickwork. Probably about the same period a brick porch was added either to the south or north door, more often to the former, but sometimes to both. They were often of large size, and the Danish name, "weapon house," is significant of one of their original uses. About the same period the ancient timber roofs were to a great extent removed (they still survive in a few of the smaller churches, more especially in West Jutland), and brick vaulting of Gothic character was substituted. At the time of the Reformation further alterations were made; the ancient windows on the north side of the nave and chancel were blocked up, and those on the south side were either enlarged, or else they were bricked up and entirely new windows, often of a very domestic

character, were inserted at a lower level and of larger size than the original openings. The churches were also almost universally whitewashed, both on the exterior and interior, and it is only recently that they have been partially uncovered. The Reformers seem to have laid their hands on the Danish churches with even greater iconoclastic violence than in our own country, for piscinae, sedilia, and stoups seem almost entirely to have disappeared. Then for a long time the churches had rest, but within the last thirty or forty years the restorer has been busy on many of them, and, although it ill becomes us to cast stones, I must admit that their methods have been in many cases fully as drastic as with us.

Several Danish writers consider that a certain amount of English influence is exhibited, not only in the general plan of these granite churches, but also in the details, in connection with which we may recall the circumstance, that, irrespective of the monarchical tie, which existed in the early part of the eleventh century, there had been since then continuous commercial intercourse between the two nations. In support of their contention may be instanced the not unfrequently-occurring cushion capital, and the occasional use of the double billet and zig-zag mouldings.

It should be borne in mind, as accounting for some of the peculiarities of these buildings (amongst others the small size and high setting of their windows, and the occasional high setting of the tower door), that they were probably the result of the necessities of the period in which they were built, the churches being not unfrequently made use of as places of refuge in times of raid and unrest, if not as actually defensive positions.

I will now proceed to describe those of the low set openings, which I had time to visit, during a short journey I made in Jutland last August in company with my son, to whom I am indebted for the photographs I exhibit this evening.

I will first take the circular openings, of which Mr. Uldall mentions he has found seven examples in the usual position in the south wall of the chancel, and an eighth in the south wall of the nave. The first I visited



FIG. 2.—HASSING. LOW SET OPENING.



FIG. 1.—HASSING. CHANCEL.





was at *Bölling*, a village in West Jutland. It is a small church of the usual type, but without a tower, built of granite squares, the nave still whitewashed, but the chancel uncovered. The length of the chancel (externally) is 21 feet 6 inches; the width of the low and narrow chancel arch, 6 feet 4 inches. The opening, of which there is no trace internally, is a rather rude circle worked in two stones, the joint being vertical. The principal measurements are :

					Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	3	6
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	4	0
External diameter	...	...	...	...	1	0
Diameter at blocking	...	...	...	...	0	8

I regret to say that the attempts to photograph on this first day were all failures, probably owing to our not sufficiently appreciating the superior translucency of the atmosphere of Denmark.

Our next investigation was at *Hassing*, in North-West Jutland. This is a very interesting little village church, consisting of nave, with bell turret, and chancel. The chancel arch is 6 feet wide, and very reminiscent of our earliest Norman work. The opening, in the usual position, is a very pretty example, and is hewn from two stones, the joint being horizontal. (Plate II, Figs. 1 and 2.) Over the upper half of the circle is a rather elegant frieze of palmette pattern; the lower stone is plain, but apparently divided into three by false joints. The measurements are :

					Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	2	10
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	2	0
Diameter externally	...	...	...	...	1	6
Diameter at blocking	...	...	...	...	0	4

There is no trace of the opening inside the church.

*Kousted*, near Randers. This is a granite church, consisting of nave and chancel with brick tower and south porch. The north and south doors are round-headed with shafts, and over the south door is a tympanum. The round opening here is the one exception as regards position, it being in the south wall of the nave about 6 feet east of the south door. There

is no trace on the outside of the church, and the east wall of the south porch covers the point at which it must have come through. Internally it is a circular opening, enormously splayed and very close to the ground, as the following measurements will indicate :

					Ft.	Ins.
Diameter externally	...	...	...	...	2	2
Diameter at blocking	...	...	...	...	0	6
Depth to blocking	...	...	...	...	1	9
From centre of blocking to floor	...	...	...	...	1	11
From bottom of circle to floor	...	...	...	...	0	10

Pewing prevented any attempt at a photograph. It is difficult to imagine what can have been the use of this curiously-shaped and very low set opening, and I cannot help conjecturing that its purpose was a different one from those placed at the usual height and in the normal position.

*Gaarslev*, in West Jutland. (Plate III, Fig. 1.) The church has a granite nave and chancel, with large brick tower and modern south porch. In the usual position is a pretty circular opening ornamented round the edge of the circle with a slight cable pattern moulding.

*Measurements, external.*

					Ft.	Ins.
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	3	9
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	2	6
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	3	0
Diameter externally	...	...	...	...	1	3
Diameter at blocking	...	...	...	...	0	9
Depth to blocking	...	...	...	...	0	8

Internally it is a rectangular opening.

					Ft.	Ins.
Width	...	...	...	...	1	9
Height	...	...	...	...	1	0
Depth to blocking	...	...	...	...	1	7

We pass on to the other class of openings, namely, those which are round-headed and, more or less, resemble a diminutive Romanesque window. Mr. Uldall mentions twelve examples which he has found in the usual position, and a thirteenth, at *Hvirring*, where, although it is in the south wall of the chancel and low set, the

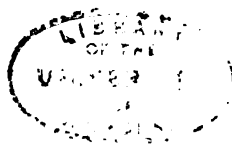


FIG. 2.—SMÖLLERUP.



FIG. 1.—GAARSLEV.







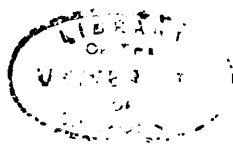






FIG. 2.—FAUNING. LOW SET OPENING.



FIG. 1.—HELSTRUP.

distance from the chancel arch wall is 8 feet 6 inches (Danish measure).

The first I investigated was at *Smøllerup*, an inland village in the central part of Jutland (Plate III, Fig. 2). This externally is a disappointing example, as it is blocked flush with the wall, the blocked space measuring 17 inches by 10 inches.

					Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth (double)	...	...	...	...	1	9
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	3	0
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	3	0

Internally it is an irregular rectangular opening splayed.

					Ft.	Ins.
Width externally	...	...	...	...	2	0
Height externally	...	...	...	...	2	6
Depth to blocking	...	...	...	...	2	0
From sill to floor	...	...	...	...	1	6

I exhibit a photograph of its external appearance in order to explain Mr. Uldall's statement, that he believes there are many more of these apertures than we now know of. In this instance had the chancel remained with its covering of whitewash, and had there been no internal evidence, it would have been quite impossible to have traced it.

*Helstrup*. (Plate IV, Fig. 1.) Here, too, there is not much evidence of the shape of the opening, but there is a trace of the round-head.

#### *Measurements.*

					Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	3	8
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	5	0
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	2	0
Height of blocked space	...	...	...	...	1	9
Width of blocked space...	...	...	...	...	0	8

There is no trace inside the church.

*Auning* (Plate V, Figs. 1 and 2), also in the district of Randers. This is a very typical church, the nave, chancel, and apse of granite, all unfortunately still enveloped with whitewash, the tower and south porch of brick with stepped gables. The groined vaulting of the

nave and chancel retains its ancient colour decoration. The font is at the west end of the church. There are three rude aumbries in the chancel. The low opening is in the usual position and the measurements are:

*External.*

						Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	...	3	8
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	...	4	6
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	...	2	5
Height from sill to head	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
Width	...	...	...	...	...	1	11
Depth to blocking	...	...	...	...	...	0	7

*Internal.*

						Ft.	Ins.
Sill to floor	...	...	...	...	...	3	2
Height outside splay	...	...	...	...	...	3	2
Width of sill	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Height at blocking	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Width at blocking	...	...	...	...	...	0	8

*Fausing*, likewise in Randers Amt. (Plate IV, Fig. 2.) The round-headed opening is in the normal position and is blocked by brick.

						Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	...	3	5
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	...	4	0
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
From sill to head	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Width of sill	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Width at blocking	...	...	...	...	...	0	8

No trace internally.

*Örsted*, in Randers Amt (Plate VI, Fig. 1); a granite church with large brick tower and broach spire. There is a fine north door, with tympanum representing the Transfiguration. The south door (blocked) has sculptured jambs and tympanum. There are traces of a hagioscope through the chancel arch. The round-headed opening, in the usual place, has a slight moulding at the springing of the head.

*External measurements.*

						Ft.	Ins.
Height from plinth	...	...	...	...	...	4	6
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
Height to head	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
Width	...	...	...	...	...	0	7

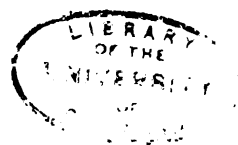


FIG. 1.—AUNING. THE CHURCH.



FIG. 2.—AUNING. LOW SET OPENING.





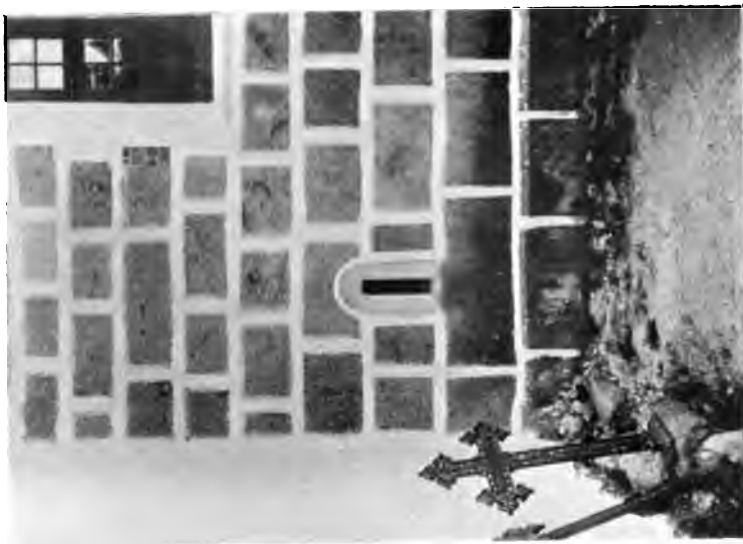


FIG. 2.—SMIDSTUP. LOW SET OPENING.



FIG. 1.—ØRSTED. LOW SET OPENING.

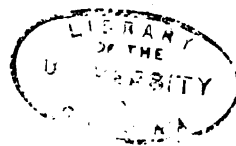






FIG. 1.—ERRITSÖE. LOW SET OPENING, EXTERIOR.



FIG. 2.—ERRITSÖE. LOW SET OPENING, INTERIOR.

Inside the church it is used as an aumbry, and the opening is closed with an iron door.

*Smidstrup*, Veile Amt. (Plate VI, Fig. 2.) This church I have not visited myself, but, by the kindness of Dr. Møllerup, I am able to exhibit a very good photograph of its rather interesting low set opening. It is in the usual position, but I have no measurements other than the height from the ground, which is given as 0.75 m. The cement joints of the granite squares stand out in greater prominence than usual, and even exceed in ugliness the somewhat similar method employed in certain restorations in our own country.

I have again to express my obligations to Dr. Møllerup for enabling me to show two photographs of an opening of this class, which existed in the now demolished church of *Erritsoe*, near Fredericia (Plate VII, Figs. 1 and 2). This church was pulled down in the year 1898, and the photographs were taken at the time of demolition. They are interesting as showing the appearance of one of these openings, when the blocking had been removed. Of the size of the opening we have a record in the oak frame found embedded in the wall, now preserved in the National Museum (Historical Section) at Copenhagen, and which measures 2 feet 5 inches in height, 5 inches wide at the head, and 6 inches at the base. There is no groove for glass. Similar oak frames have occasionally been found in cases where ancient blocked windows of usual character have been opened out, and several are to be seen at the National Museum. Professor Baldwin Brown refers to an analogous arrangement occurring in double splayed windows of Saxon date in England, where

"the actual opening for light is at times cut in a thin slab of stone or plank of wood built into the wall at the centre of the thickness." (*Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, p. 93.)

The external measurements were (in Danish measure):

					Ft. Ins.
Height from double plinth	...	...	...	...	1 5½
Height from ground	...	...	...	...	3 8
Distance from chancel arch wall	...	...	...	...	1 10

but internally the splay came to within 11 inches of this point.

Of low set openings in Sweden I have only heard of examples in two places, and these are mentioned in an article by Dr. Emil Ekhoﬀ on *Husaby Church* in Västergötland. Plates VIII, IX. (*Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, vol. x, p. 333). This church, of early date and Romanesque style, is built of sandstone and consists of an aisleless nave and a small low chancel terminating in an apse. The tower is square, with semi-circular stair-turrets on the north and south sides, and is, possibly, earlier than the rest of the church. Of the low set opening, he writes:

"In connection with the windows should be mentioned another wall opening, which is of a very puzzling nature. Its position is in the south wall of the chancel, immediately contiguous to the west end and very near to the ground. The opening is round-headed in a deeply splayed recess, the sill being stepped and steeply ascending. The dimensions at the light opening are very small, only about 0·15 m. in height and 0·13 in width. Externally it is blocked, and on the outside of the chancel wall there appears only a trace of the round-head. The distance from the ground, which is somewhat, although not considerably, higher than it was originally, to the opening is only about 0·90 m. Internally the lowest step of the sill is only 0·5 m. from the floor. The purpose of this singular opening is, as already said, quite puzzling. It has in the main, although of such small dimensions, the form of a real window. That it could not have served for giving light seems to be apparent. Its effect in this respect, both from its position and size, would have been absolutely infinitesimal, and it is moreover unthinkable that anyone would arrange an opening for the purpose of admitting light so near to the ground.

"In St. Bridget's *Revelationes extravagantes* it is said with regard to the conventual church at *Vadstena*:

"'The wall, which is placed behind the Brothers' choir towards the Sisters on the north, shall have five apertures near the ground through which the Sisters should make their confessions and receive the Holy Sacrament.'

"Possibly this direction is not without significance with reference to the foregoing question. It is true St. Bridget may have introduced something new, but it is more likely that she thereby followed a here and there existing custom. The five small apertures are still in existence, and each has two seats internally. Their position is in the north wall of the choir, obviously because the cloister buildings of the Sisters lay on that side of the church; but as the high choir at *Vadstena* is placed in the west, these openings have the same position with regard to the altar as those at *Husaby* and in the Danish churches, i.e., on the Epistle side. If we imagine the church at *Vadstena* orientated with the altar in the east, the openings would be just in the same position as the last named, that is, on the south side of the choir; and before all there is this remarkable circumstance in common, that they are placed near the ground."

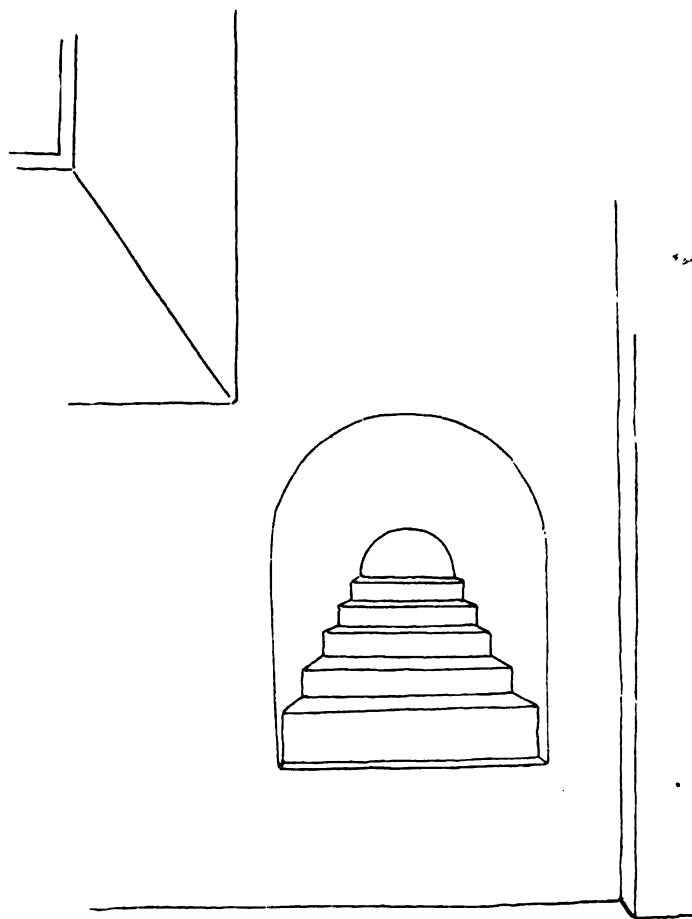


FIG. 2.—HUSABY CHURCH, VESTERGÖTLAND.  
LOW SET OPENING, INTERIOR.



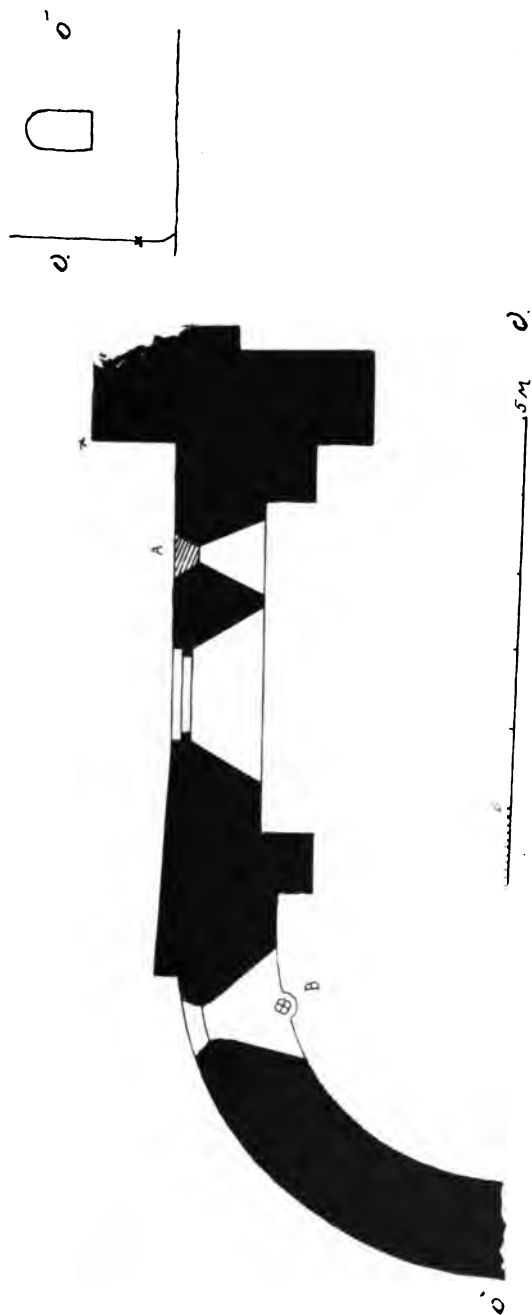


FIG. 1.—HUSABY CHURCH, VESTERGÖTLAND.

A.—Low set opening.

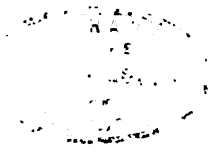
B.—Piscina.





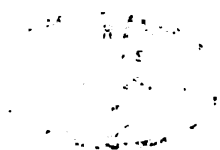
CONFESSIOAL LOW SET OPENINGS IN THE BRIDGETINE CHURCH AT VADSTENA (SWEDEN).







CONFESSIONAL LOW SET OPENING (ENLARGED) VADSTENA CHURCH.





CONFESSIONAL LOW SET OPENING (ENLARGED) VADSTENA CHURCH.

2000





FIG. 1.—GAMLE GLEMMINGE, NORWAY. THE CHANCEL.



FIG. 2.—GAMLE GLEMMINGE, NORWAY. LOW SET OPENING.

The priest of Husaby Church, in a pamphlet issued after its restoration (1900-1902), writes with reference to this opening :

“ A little window, which has been called a communion window, has been opened in the south wall of the choir near the ground. The window has taken its name from the circumstance that formerly, in the Middle Ages, when a more stringent church discipline prevailed, such persons who, on account of grave offences could not enter the church, might make their confession outside this window and through it afterwards receive the Sacrament.”

I have not had an opportunity myself of visiting the church at Vadstena, and I am therefore unable to give any measurements, but I have procured photographs of the north wall at the eastern end showing the openings referred to by Dr. Ekhoﬀ. (Plates X, XI.) It was impossible to photograph them from the interior as they are closed up with iron plates. This church (built 1395-1424) was the Mother Church of the Bridgetine Order, and at that time seventy-four establishments of the Order were in existence, occurring chiefly in Northern Europe.

With regard to Norway, the only examples I know of are two at *Gamle Glemminge* Church near Fredriksstad (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), which have been brought under my notice by my son, who has taken the photographs I now exhibit. They occur in a chapel east of the present chancel, now used as a mortuary chapel, but as the entrance to it is evidently not earlier than the seventeenth century, I conjecture that in pre-Reformation times it was probably the sacarium. They are rude quatrefoils, exactly opposite each other in the south and north walls, and are about 3 feet from the ground. The church is of a quite early date.

Although we have but few openings in England so small as the smallest of the Scandinavian examples, there are yet a certain number, and I am indebted to Mr. F. T. S. Houghton, of Birmingham, who has been engaged in an investigation of Warwickshire Low Side Windows, for drawing my attention to an opening in the south wall of the chancel of Sheldon Church, about seven miles east of Birmingham, which, as regard its general character and size, bears a close resemblance to the Danish examples we have been considering. It is in the usual position, about 3 feet from the ground,



measuring 18 inches by 16 inches outside the splay, and only  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches at the actual opening, which is cut out of a single stone. I have also to thank him for the photograph, which is reproduced in Plate XIII.

It was not my intention in the present Paper to enter into the discussion as to the use or uses of these openings; on the other hand, it may be asked, not without reason, that I should place on record the opinions of those Scandinavian authorities who have given thought to the subject, where I have had an opportunity of ascertaining them. From the extract already given on the Swedish churches at Husaby and Vadstena, we know the views of Dr. Ekhoﬀ, and Dr. Möllerup so far concurs in them, that he thinks we should not overlook the regulations in the Bridgetine churches, when considering the matter; on the other hand, he would not entirely exclude from our purview the possibility of their having been used for dealing with lepers.

Mr. Uldall, from whom I have so frequently quoted, writes in his treatise on *The Windows of the Jutland Granite Churches*:

Till now I have not succeeded in finding a satisfactory explanation for these remarkable small low-placed openings in the south side of the chancel. In Bölling the villagers say that the round hole was for the purpose of depositing gifts from those cured at an adjacent holy well. At the well was once a chapel, and a field which belongs to the parsonage is still called Chapel Meadow. This explanation contents me just as little as what has been narrated in other places, i.e., that the openings were used for gross sinners who might not enter the church to confess and obtain absolution. It seems to me most probable that the openings have been used as look-out holes to observe from the chancel what was taking place outside the church—for instance, if a funeral procession approached, for which purpose the usual windows were placed far too high. One must not, however, entirely reject the idea that these openings may have served as holes for archers, as it is well known that these churches, with their few and well-secured entrances, their thick walls, and high-set small windows, often served as regular places of refuge in times of unrest. At least it is noteworthy that these openings were nearly always made at the same place and in one of the church's so-called dead corners, in which the enemy would be safe against the defender's spears and arrows from the windows of the nave.

“On the other hand, if we suppose that these openings were made exclusively for the admission of light, it is in any case somewhat puzzling that any one should have gone to the trouble of so much



**SHELDON CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.**



work as the hewing out would demand, only for the purpose of obtaining the small amount of light which a round hole of about 5 inches in diameter would afford, and some of them are not larger than this."

With reference to the round-headed openings, Mr. Uldall proceeds:

"The above-described oblong openings may, like the before-mentioned round ones, most likely have been used for looking-out purposes, and many circumstances go to prove that they were formerly much more numerous than at present. In many churches, as at Røstrup (Hobro), Lyngaa (Randers), Veirum (Struer) and Aal (Varde), there are set out of place in the wall hewn granite stones which would appear to have been used as blocking stones to such small round-headed openings."

With regard to the foregoing conjectures, that they may have been intended either for look-out holes or for archers, Dr. J. Helms and other writers point out that their position in the church, close to the angle between the chancel and nave, as well as their small size, would only admit of a very circumscribed view, while, in addition to this disadvantage, their nearness to the ground would render them very inconvenient for the purpose of discharging arrows; and these objections appear to me weighty.

There are, however, three points in connection with this part of the subject, which, although somewhat negative in their character, I venture to think are worthy of consideration. The first is that the extremely small size of most of these Scandinavian openings renders untenable nearly all the theories recapitulated by the late Mr. I. H. Parker in his early, but exhaustive, treatise written some sixty years ago and published in Vol. IV of our *Journal*. The second, that the almost universal closing of these openings appears to connect them with a rite or use which ceased at the time of the Reformation. The third, that those openings which are in the normal position, i.e., at the west end of the chancel, whether in the south or north walls, may be grouped together as intended for the same use or uses, whereas those occurring in other positions in the church were possibly constructed for other purposes. I will refer to one instance to illustrate my meaning. In the interesting Paper contributed by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim, "On the Origin and Uses of Low Side Windows in

Ancient Churches," in Vol. LXII of our *Journal*, an illustration is given (Plate VII, Fig. 12) of the curious little window at the extreme east end of the south chancel wall of Limpsfield Church (Surrey). Having formerly resided in this parish, I know the window well. Close to it in the east wall are the remains of an oven and chimney darkened by smoke, which no doubt was used for the preparation of the Sacramental wafers, and my friend Mr. J. Oldrid Scott, F.S.A., is of opinion that this and other windows of this nature placed at the east end of the church were for the purpose of giving light to a small sacristy behind the altar. He instances one in the east wall of the chancel of Blakeney Church, Norfolk, and that exhibited in Mr. Pim's Paper at the east end of the south chancel wall of Grafton Underwood Church, Northants (Plate VIII, Fig. 14), may have served a similar purpose. On the other hand, those which occur at the west end of the north aisles have often proved to be the openings to the cells of anchorites, of which there are examples at Edlesborough (Bucks), Stanbridgeford (Beds) and Leeds (Kent).

The following tables give the measurements of the Danish low set openings on the external wall, so far as I have been able to collect them :

### ROUND OPENINGS.

	External diameter.	Diameter at blocking.	Height from plinth.	Distance from chancel arch wall.	Measure.
	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	
Bölling ....	1 0	0 8	3 6	4 0	English.
Skallerup ....	1 2½	—	—	—	Danish.
Gaarslev ....	1 3	0 9	2 6	3 0	English.
Orum ....	1 4	—	2 6	—	Danish.
Sønderhaa ....	1 10-11	—	3 1½	—	Danish.
Hassing ....	1 6	0 4	2 10	2 0	English.
Tørring ....	1 4½	0 10½	2 1½ double plinth	—	Danish.

## ROUND-HEADED OPENINGS.

	Outer height.	Width.	Height from plinth.	Height from ground.	Distance from chancel arch wall.	Measure.
	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	Ft. Ins.	
Orsted ...	1 8	0 8	4 6	5 0	2 11	English.
Helstrup ...	1 9	0 8	3 8	5 0	2 0	English.
Fausning ...	2 0	1 0	3 5	4 0	2 11	English.
Tulstrup ...	2 9	2 1½	2 6½	—	—	Danish.
Auning ...	2 3	1 11	3 8	4 6	2 5	English.
Smøllerup	—	—	1 9	3 4	3 0	English.
Hvirring....	2 2	1 0	double plinth 3 8	—	—	Danish.
Dragstrup	c. 55	c. 12	c. 49	c. —	c. 92	French.
Smidstrup	—	—	—	75	—	French.

To anyone desirous of studying the early Romanesque architecture of Northern Europe, I can confidently recommend a tour in Jutland. Nowhere else can so many churches of this style be found in such a limited area and it can be reached from London *via* Harwich and Esbjerg in twenty-four hours. The hotels are clean and sufficiently comfortable, the inhabitants obliging and hospitable, and the most interesting of the churches are within easy distances of a railway.

Before concluding, I desire to place on record the obligations I am under to several Danish gentlemen for assistance rendered to me in various ways. First to Dr. Möllerup, the courteous Chief of the Historical Section of the National Museum, Copenhagen, and to his able assistants for having directed me to Mr. Uldall, the source from which most of my information has been derived, and for having furnished me with several important photographs. Secondly, to Mr. Uldall himself, who at much sacrifice of time has supplied me with a great part of the facts in this Paper, and without whose assistance it would have been impossible for me

to visit so many churches in the limited time at my disposal. Finally I have to thank Professor Kornerup, of Roeskilde, and Professor Haupt, of Eutin, for kindly answering my inquiries with reference to churches in their districts; and Dr. Ekhoﬀ of the National Museum, Stockholm, for having furnished me with particulars of the openings at Husaby and Vadstena.

## LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO.

- "Om Vinduerne i De Jydske Granitkirker," } *Aarbøger for Nordisk*  
 F. Uldall, 1894. } *Oldkyndighed und*  
 "De Jydske Granitkirker Alder," F. Uldall, } *Historie.*  
 1896.
- Sallinglands Kirker, Rødding Herred*, F. Uldall and Jacob Helms, 1884.  
*Jydske Granitkirker*, H. Storek, 1903.  
 "Husaby Kyrka i Vestergötland," E. Ekhoﬀ, *Svenska Fornminnes*  
*foreningens Tidskrift*, Vol. X, Part 4.  
*Den Hellige Birgitta*, Fr. Hammerich, Copenhagen, 1863.  
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## THE GREAT FORD ACROSS THE LOWER THAMES.

(A.) THE EXTENSIVE LINE OF BRITISH STAKES PROTECTING THE FORD ACROSS THE THAMES AT BRENTFORD.

(B.) DID CAESAR CROSS HERE?

(C.) WERE THE COWAY STAKES IN EXISTENCE B.C. ?

By MONTAGU SHARPE, Esq., D.L. MIDDLESEX.

The plates illustrating this paper are from the author's *Antiquities of Middlesex*.

### PREFACE.

In early times we know that the south-eastern district of Britain was cut off from the interior by the Thames and its marshes, and that the first practical means of crossing this barrier was by the ford at Brentford, the next being 50 miles up stream at Wallingford.

This Middlesex ford would therefore be a place of the first importance, and also of general resort, since upon it converged the principal chariot or trackways for miles around, on each side of the river.

In times of war this portal between two extensive areas would be jealously guarded and strongly protected, and this is proved by the numerous remains of pile fortifications which have now come to light, extending for a couple of miles along the Middlesex shore of the river, from Kew Bridge to Isleworth Ferry. The troops regularly guarding this position appear to have had a circular camp near by, higher up on the level ground, in a clearing midst the surrounding trees, situated on the tongue of land between the Brent and the adjoining brook, which commanded the fordway below. The next tribal line of defence was upon the wooded uplands of Middlesex, along which ran Grimms Dyke. At either end stood camps, at Hillingdon and Bush Hill, protecting the fords of the rivers Colne (Ux) and Lea.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the meeting of the Institute on the 4th April, 1906.



Midway lay encampments at Horsadun and Harrow, and perhaps another at London, guarding the Old Ford across the Lea, as well as the passage-way up the Thames.

The tribe in possession of this Thames crossing would necessarily exercise a predominating influence not only throughout the Middlesex district, but over an extensive area to the north of it, and in this may be found the source of power or pre-eminence possessed by the Catuvellauni, whose territories extended over Herts and down to the Thames.

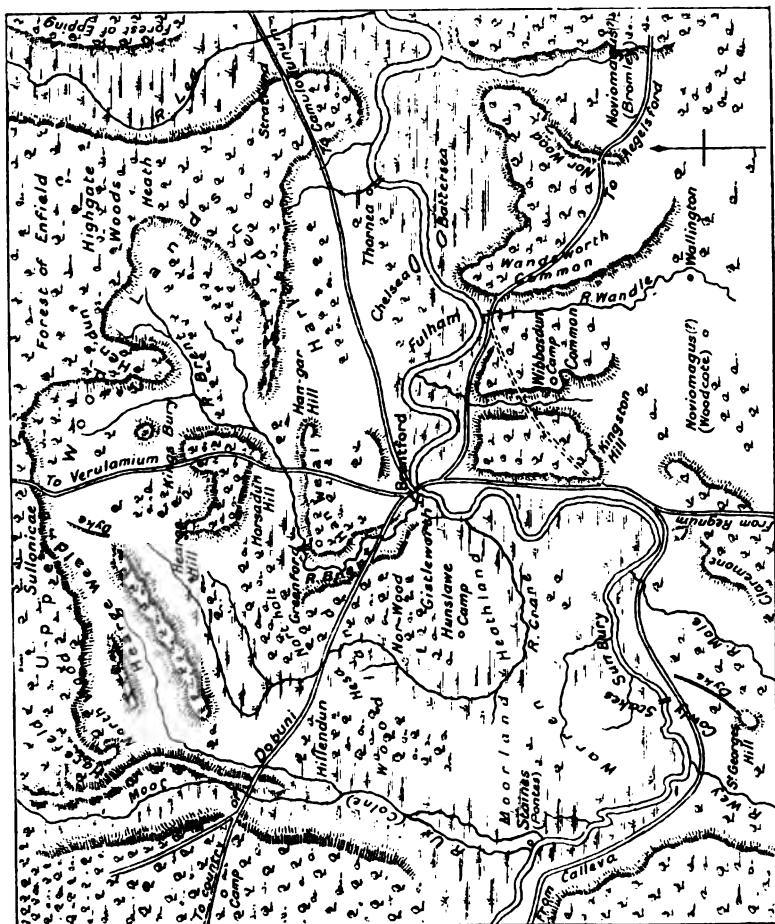
But the great Thames ford, from which radiated three principal British trackways, fell into considerable disuse when Watling Street was constructed by the Romans, and the line of route transferred, first, perhaps, to the Thornea Ford, Westminster, and then to London Bridge. As regards the ford at Westminster, I may mention, that before the Roman causeway to it was built, the crossing was both difficult and dangerous, for two miles of bog on the Surrey side had first to be traversed, and again more swamps on the Middlesex side before firm land was reached where Buckingham Palace now stands.

It may, perhaps, here be stated with reference to any crossing place by the Coway Stakes, that in British days the site where the stakes have been found was apparently not then part of the bed of the Thames. But to this subject I will return later on.

#### THE FORD AT "OLD ENGLAND," BRENTFORD.

Bishop Gibson, writing in 1695, says that the Thames was in ancient times easily forded at Brentford, and is so still, there being now at low ebb not above 3 feet of water. There is confirmation of this in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which states that Ædmond the Ironsides crossed here with an army twice in 1016. William of Malmesbury (1095-1143) on each occasion refers to the place as the Brentford vadum. Even at the present day, during a low spring tide, children in the warm weather may be seen wading well out into the river.

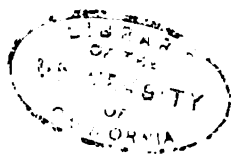
There was but little tidal scour in those days, for irregular banks, shoals, weeds, reeds and fallen trees,

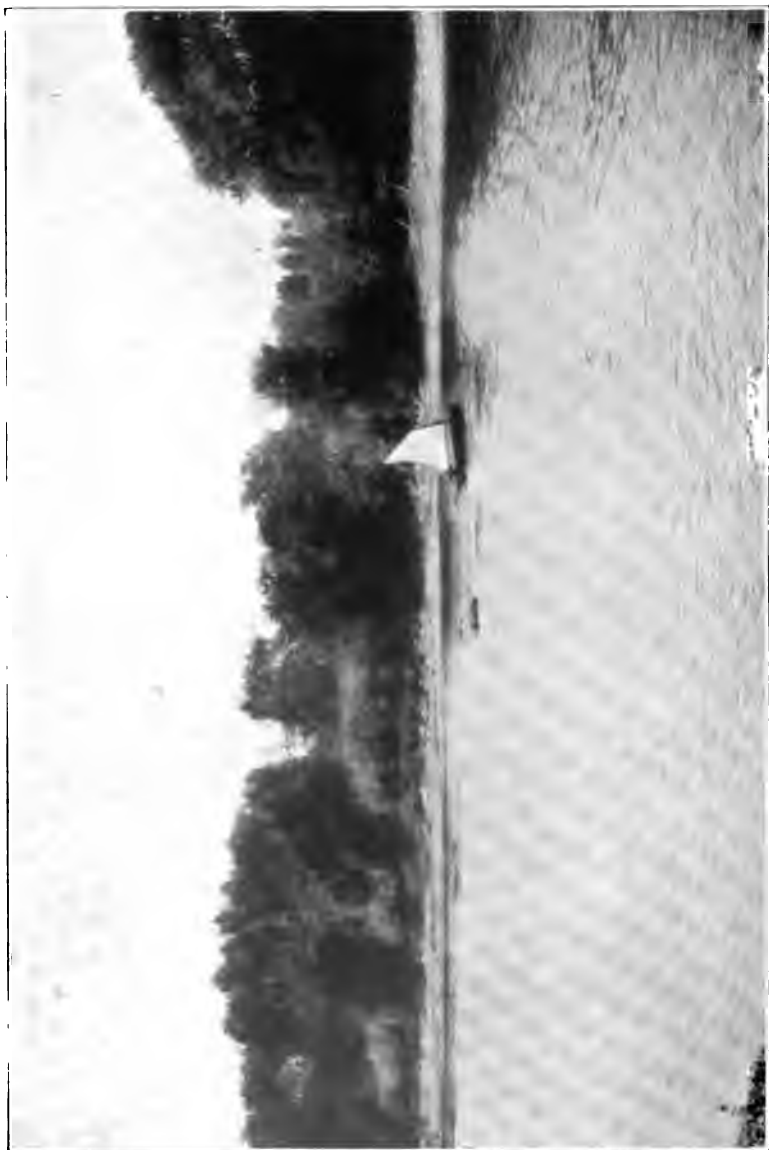


THE DISTRICT AROUND THE THAMES FORD, B.C.

44







THE RIVER BANK AT "OLD ENGLAND." THE DOCKS AND RAILWAY ARE BEHIND THE TREES.

etc., coupled with the lateral flow over miles of swamps, would all tend to impede the flow in the river proper. Constant dredging at this day takes place upon the gravel shingle in the Syon reach of the river to deepen the Brentford channel for navigation, and from the above various causes it can be imagined that 2,000 years ago the river at this spot was much shallower than at present, and therefore easily fordable at low tide. All the accessories of a ford convenient for military purposes were to be found here. On the Surrey side a wide and level approach over a firm and low-lying bank (B.M. 13) led down to a shallow river of no width, flowing in this reach over a broad bed of gravel. Plate I.

The passage across probably lay up stream, a little above the line of route of the present ferry. The old ford was a double one, as an arm of the Brent had afterwards to be crossed before ascending the gravel ridge (B.M. 25) which lies between the bend of the Brent to the north, and the brook from Little Ealing. On the intervening triangle of land forming the delta of the Brent lay the town meadow, happily named and still known as "Old England." Its old appearance has now, alas! gone for ever, nearly all lost in docks and buried beneath railway embankments. Plate II gives some idea of the former appearance of the river banks here, and is taken from a part remaining untouched.

It is now impossible to ascertain what further relics of ancient strife remain buried beneath the soil of "Old England," but fortunately Thomas Layton, Esq., F.S.A., in the sixties, during the excavations for the docks, obtained many interesting antiquities, of which he has kindly supplied me with this list: stone celts polished, stone implements of various sizes, stone chisels mostly in flint, bronze and iron swords 2 feet, more or less, in length, iron spear-heads, and many Roman bronze coins and some silver, with numerous other antiquities of later date.

Camden, Dr. Guest, and others argue in favour of Caesar's army crossing at the Coway Stakes, but no writer on this subject, so far as I know, seems to have been aware of the remains of the extensive lines of stake defences at Brentford, for the dredging of the river to deepen the channel has only recently been undertaken;

and these stakes exactly correspond, as regards their position both in the bed and on the banks of the river, with Caesar's description.

I have in my possession the remains of several of the ancient British stakes recently extracted from the bed of the river at Brentford, one of which is here shown in Plate III. It is part of an oak sapling, is 3 feet long and 15 inches in circumference, roughly pointed at the lower end, and black as ink. There is little sign of decay, though, in process of drying through exposure to the air, rifts or splits down the way of grain have appeared. The remainder of the sapling, which stood in and above the water, has of course long ago decayed or been broken off, but the stump owes its preservation to having been buried in the bed of the river. Its upper end, which projected a couple of inches above the bed, is frayed from contact with the dredger, or keels of passing vessels, and the action of river drift. The condition of some of the other stumps is not so good, it varies very much; the cores, however, are fairly sound and hard. Two specimens are now to be seen in the British Museum.

In December, 1903, Mr. Bunting, of the Thames Conservancy, in a letter to me, says that—

“The remains of the line of stake defence still exist in the bed of the river for about 400 yards below Isleworth Ferry. It runs in a diagonal direction down stream from the Middlesex to the Surrey side, and their positions, as shown at A, B, and C, on Plate IV, have been carefully ascertained. In the course of dredging, the stumps of many of the stakes have been extracted in the main channel, and those on the foreshore have been removed, as they became an obstruction or danger to navigation. The extracted stakes have from their appearance indicated that they have been tied or interlaced in some way or other.”

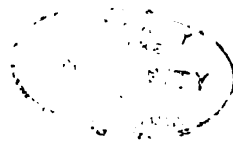
Since this was written further dredging by the Thames Conservancy has taken place with the object of clearing the river bed. Mr. Haig has, however, carefully noted for me, on the plan shown on Plate V, the position of every stake withdrawn up to April, 1905. He has also marked some stakes at the other end of the line, across the old channel just above Kew Bridge, between the brook and the lower end of the ait at G. In spite of dredging, the depth of low water at 13 feet 6 inches below T.H.W.,

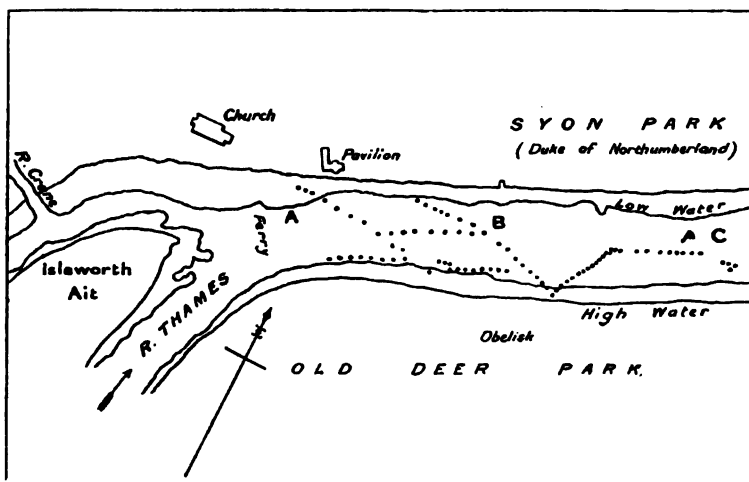


ANCIENT BRITISH STAKE EXTRACTED FROM THE BED OF THE THAMES  
AT BRENTFORD.









ENLARGED SECTION SHOWING POSITION OF EXTRACTED STUMPS AT UPPER END OF THE LINK OF FORTIFICATIONS GUARDING THE FORD.

when taken with about 18 inches of flood water out, was at Kew Bridge  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, Old England 4, the Obelisk  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and Isleworth Ferry  $6\frac{3}{4}$ .

The Venerable Bede (A.D. 673—735), after referring to Caesar's description of the stakes in the river, says, "the remains of which stakes are to be seen there to this day." This would be from seven to eight centuries after Caesar's invasion.—Bede himself, I believe, never saw the stakes, and unfortunately did not mention the place by name where they were to be seen.—Is it not more likely that he was referring to those at Brentford, which extended for about two miles *along* the river, and were visible from the adjoining western road, than those *across* the stream at Coway, which were away from the ordinary route of travel and possibly not then even in existence? Mr. Hanson, of Southall, tells me, that in 1881, when engaged on some riverside works, at F on map on Plate V, a threefold line of stakes, with wattles and boughs interlacing them, was laid bare at a depth of ten feet or more below the level of the bank, Plate VI. They appeared to be in a semi-petrified condition and of a dull *leaden* hue in colour, from their contact with the mud by the mouth of the Brent. He regrets that no particular attention was then paid to this ancient defence work, or to the numerous stone celts, coins, and shells lying adjacent, many of which were disposed of by the workmen for pots of beer. In a subsequent letter to me he says :

"Some of the stakes were pointed, others with butts upwards as if small oak or other hard wood trees had been cut down for the purpose, and I should say the top and lop of same had been used to lay between the stakes. As I told you, most of the wood was cased with petrified sand or something of that kind."

This confirms Mr. Bunting's view as to the tying or interlacing between the stakes.

Having given the position of the lines of stakes at A, B, C, F and G, we will now consider the intermediate portions in the light of information kindly given by Inspector Rough, of the Thames Conservancy, who for upwards of forty years has been engaged upon the river, and is intimately acquainted with this part of it, besides having superintended the local dredging operations.

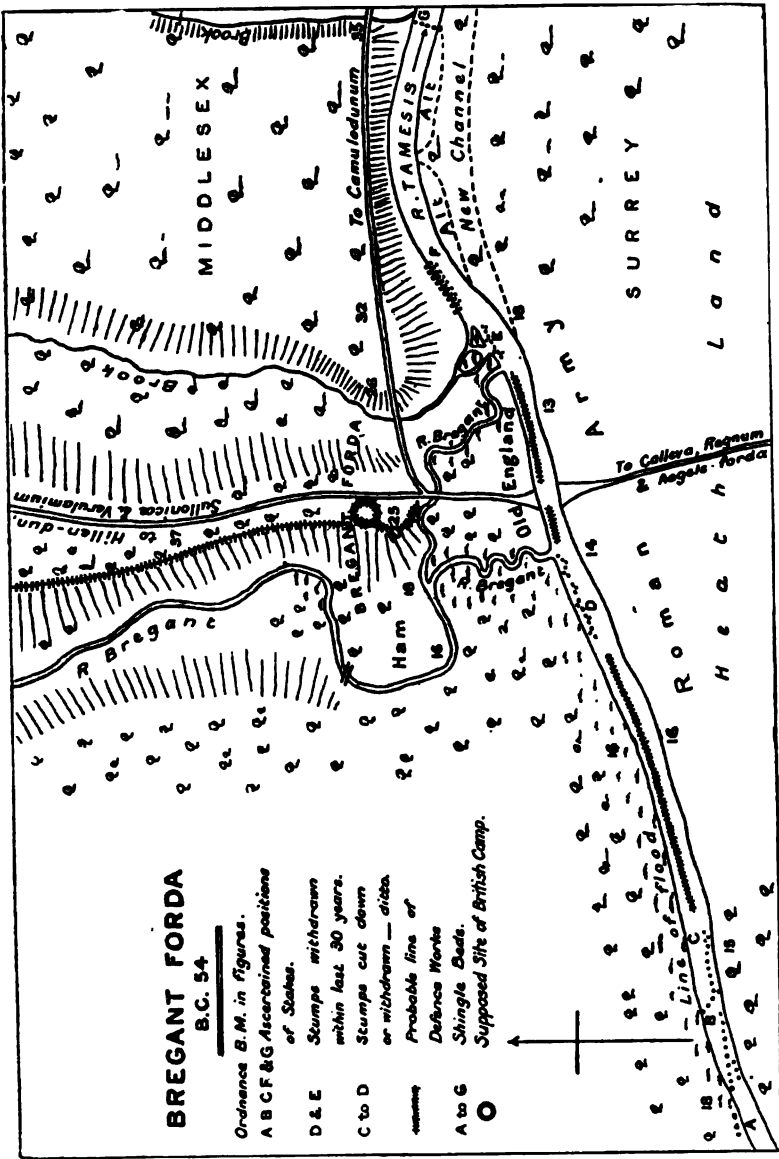
In his company I inspected the site of the ancient ford, and then interviewed the working foreman who has been employed on this section for thirty years and who has often been engaged in removing obstructive stumps.

The result from the dredging has been to lower the bed of the river, which then left uncovered the stumps of the stakes and standing about 9 inches above the bottom and dangerous to navigation at low tide.

To sum up my investigations, it seems that within the last quarter of a century or so 30 stumps have been drawn at G, upwards of 36 in the vicinity of E, which appear to have been the continuation up stream of the threefold line at F.

Adjoining the bank at D, just above Old England, about 14 stumps have been extracted, and here again they were irregular, apparently the remains of several rows, as at F. Between D and A, further up river, upwards of 150 stumps have at different times been drawn or cut down as occasion required, all of which have been carefully noted on the plan.

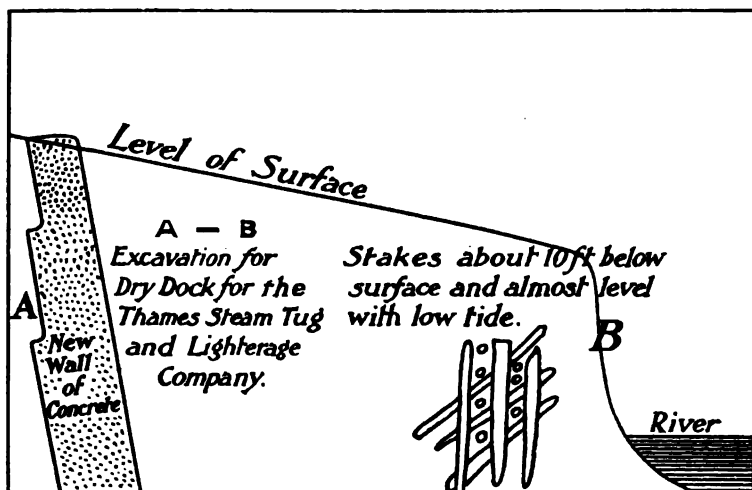
However, it can now with confidence be asserted that these works extended for about two miles along the course of the river between the points A and G, the passage of the ford being at about the centre. The number of vertical stakes used in a single line crossing the stream diagonally at either end, and stiffened with two other lines below "Old England," would when driven in 6 feet apart have amounted to between two and three thousand. This river palisade work guarding the chief portal into Middlesex must, in those savage times, have been a fine specimen of military engineering skill. It was a strong outlying fortification, the first line of defence, situated at the termination of the land palisade which the Catuvellauni had doubtless constructed across the county, along their boundary line and trackway from their home in Herts to the ford of the lower Thames. In extent it will not be compared with the impenetrable hedge wall which the Nervii across the Channel had raised round their country, or with the 300 miles of similar fortification built by the Romans from the Danube to the Rhine, known as the Pfahlgraben.











REMAINS OF BRITISH STAKE FORTIFICATIONS DISCOVERED IN THE RIVER  
BANK, BRENTFORD.

As regards the bank at A and F, it is worthy of note that we have, at this day, evidence that stakes were driven into the *foreshore* as well as the main channel; this accords with Caesar's description, when he says that the *bank* was also defended.

Caesar and Orosius (A.D. 416) both mention that sharpened stakes were concealed under water. They were thrust through, and then bound to the interlacing work between the stakes at an angle of 45 degrees, with their butts embedded in the gravel: though all trace of this work above the bed of the river has long since disappeared. But as regards the bank at F, Mr. Hanson says "some of the stakes were pointed," and from his diagram their position to the vertical piles was as that of an angle of 45 degrees.

When Caesar arrived at the ford he does not seem to have even waited for low tide before making his attack, for his soldiers in crossing were up to their necks in water. It is probable that his main advance was upon "Old England," where the ground had been cleared for the purposes of the ford, and from whence a trackway had been cut through the undergrowth. The cavalry would perhaps go forward, and from the backs of their horses scale the defensive barrier of interlaced boughs and sharpened stakes. To make the attack elsewhere would seem to be less advantageous, for above "Old England" up stream lay the uncleared woodland, unsuited to Roman tactics, but favourable to those of the British; whilst below, the higher ground at F, rising from behind the lines of stakes upon the bank, formed a strong defensive position.

I now proceed to give a translation of Caesar's account of his passage across the Thames, which, when read in the light of the above material, will, I trust, prove that this great historic event took place at Brentford.

#### B.C. July 54. CAESAR'S INVASION WITH 20,000 MEN.

"Caesar being aware of their plans, led his army to the Thames to the kingdom of Cassivellaunus. The river was passable on foot only at one place, and that with difficulty. When he arrived there he observed a large force of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank.

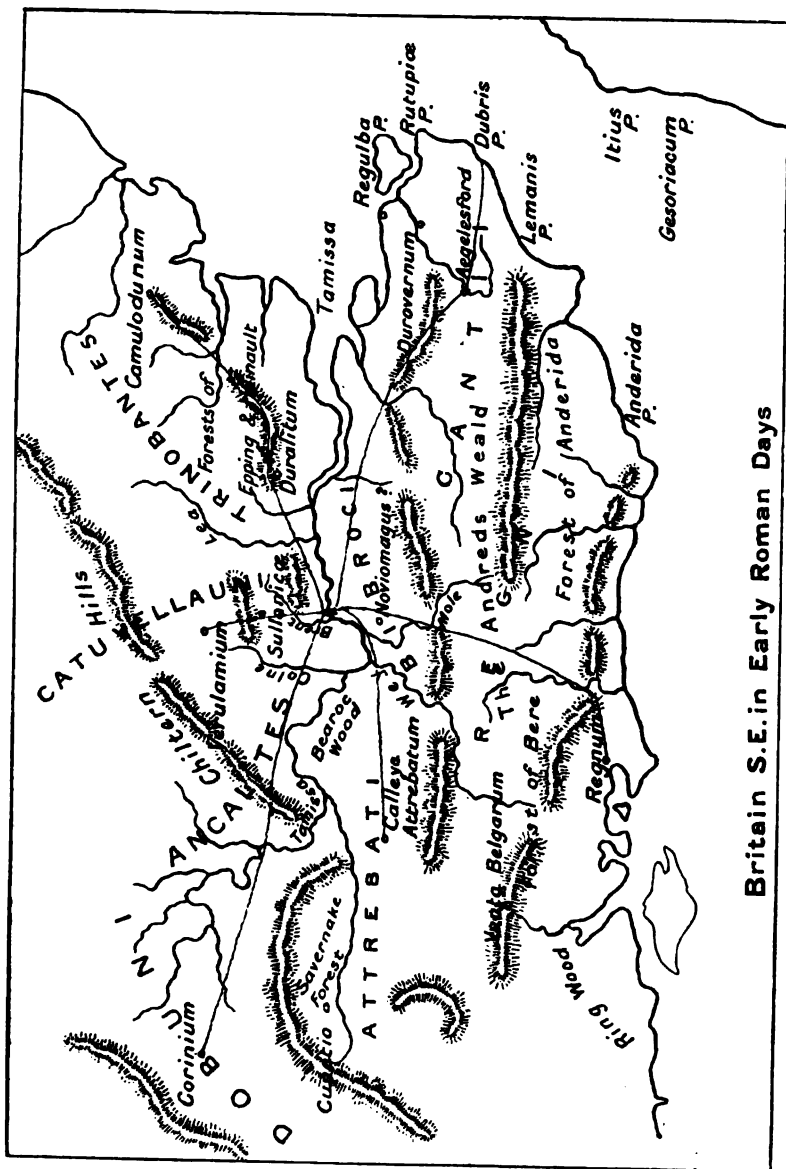
"The bank also was defended with sharpened stakes fixed outwards, and similar stakes were placed under water and concealed by the river. Having learnt these particulars from the captives and deserters, Caesar sent forward the cavalry, and immediately ordered the legions to follow. But the soldiers went at such a pace and in such a rush, though only their heads were above water, that the enemy could not withstand the charge of the legions and cavalry, and they left the bank and took to flight."

### CAESAR IN MIDDLESEX. Plate VII.

We will now trace Caesar's march from the Kentish coast through Brentford to Verulamium.

About the 18th of July B.C. 54 Caesar reached the shores of Britain with a fleet of some 800 vessels, transporting from Gaul an army of five legions, or about 17,500 infantry with 2,000 cavalry. After the troops had disembarked, Caesar tells us that he at once marched to attack the British, who were beaten back to a stronghold in a neighbouring wood "well fortified by nature and art." At last they were driven out, and this spot in Bourne Park, near Canterbury, is still known as "Old England's Hole." It is a curious coincidence that both in Kent and Middlesex there should be two places known as "Old England" where Caesar engaged the British on his march to Verulamium. Then he returned to the coast, as a storm had arisen which had caused considerable damage to his ships, and so it was not until about August the 2nd that he was able to march on the Thames, leaving his vessels under a guard of ten cohorts, or about 3,000 men with 300 horse.

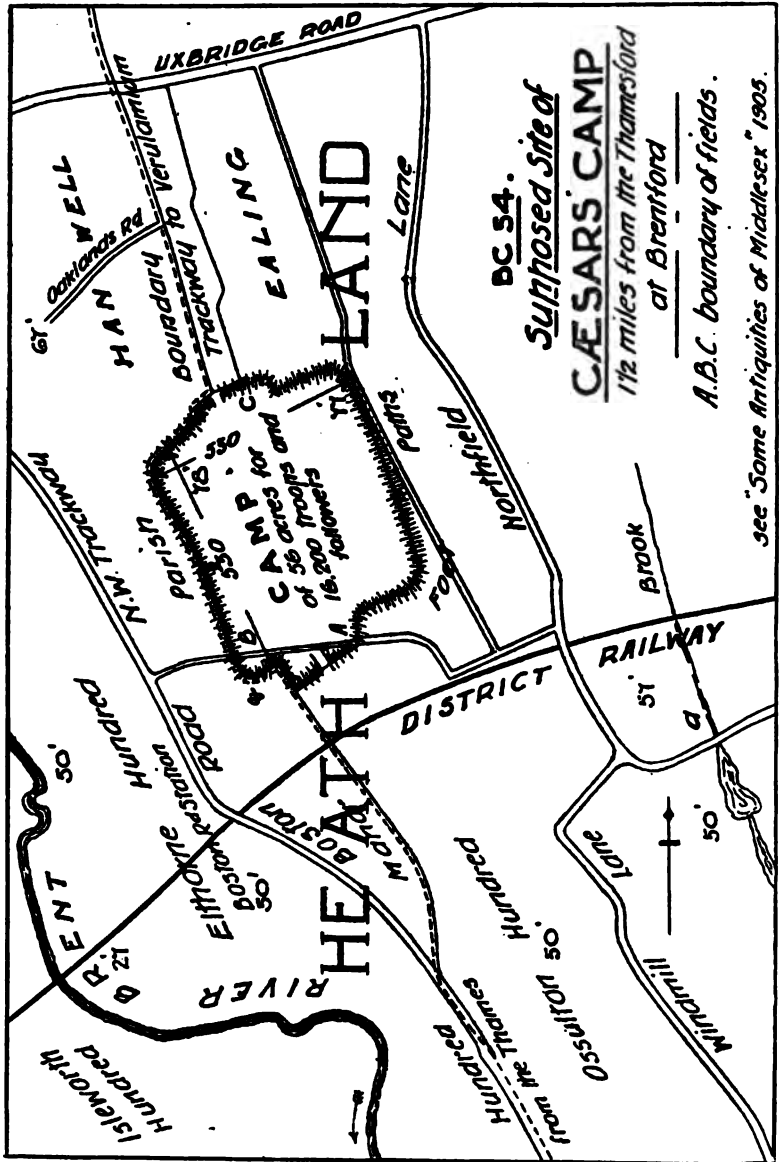
After referring to his camp and damaged fleet, he goes on to say that the territory of Cassivellaunus, the British overlord, was divided from the maritime states by the Thames, distant 80 miles. A Roman mile contained about 1,611 of our yards, and it is just 80 of such miles from the neighbourhood of Deal by the British chariot way through Agelsford to the great Thames ford. From that seaport to any place higher up or lower down on the Middlesex bank of the Thames, the mileage would be increased or diminished. Therefore, if we take Caesar to mean that from his camp by the sea to the entrance into the territory of Cassivellaunus by the great Middlesex ford was 80 miles, his mileage is correct. This is



Britain S.E. in Early Roman Days







a further proof in favour of Caesar having crossed at Brentford as against Coway, Thornea or any other place.

After his defeat, Cassivellaunus disbanded his levies, retaining 4,000 chariots, with which he watched the Romans from some distance, sheltering himself in the woods of Middlesex which lay to the north of the country.

The hills of Horsa-dun, Harrow, and the high ground at Sulloniacae would be excellent points of observation for Cassivellaunus, as the Romans marched to Verulamium, 20 miles from the Thames. See Plate I.

Meanwhile ambassadors had come in to Caesar, who would have constructed the usual *castra exploratoria* or temporary camp above the ford after the recent battle there (Plate VIII), and, allowing 3 acres per thousand of the troops, the rampart of the camp would have encircled some 50 acres.

The British trackway to Verulamium, after leaving the ford, crossed a heath, where it was to form subsequently the boundary between adjoining hundreds, manors and parishes. Owing to certain irregularities in this boundary line here, which I have fully dealt with in my *Antiquities of Middlesex*, we can perhaps still trace the outlines of Caesar's camp.

It was rectangular in form, the north-western corner being rounded off, while 250 yards to the east the line indicates a projection for a portal. Its length from north to south is about 530 yards, and if the public footpath parallel to the western boundary indicates the extent of the camp to the east, then the rampart enclosed a square, containing some 50 acres, which the force under Caesar would require.

If I am correct, then we have here the historic spot where Julius Caesar received the submission of the British tribes, who would arrive by the main trackways, centering here upon the ford below.

Dr. Stukeley, unaware of the Brentford passage and its two miles of fortifications, in his *Iter Boreale* conducts Caesar across the Thames at Coway, through Greenfield common, Staines, which was somewhat off the line of his march, then to Hounslow Heath and on to Kingsbury. At each of these places the writer had



discovered vestiges of earthworks which he attributed to Caesar, though such enclosures are common over the country, and may equally belong to an earlier or to a later period. As to the camp at Kingsbury, he says it "is now the churchyard and still visible enough. Its situation is high and near the Brent, and measured 30 by 40 yards."

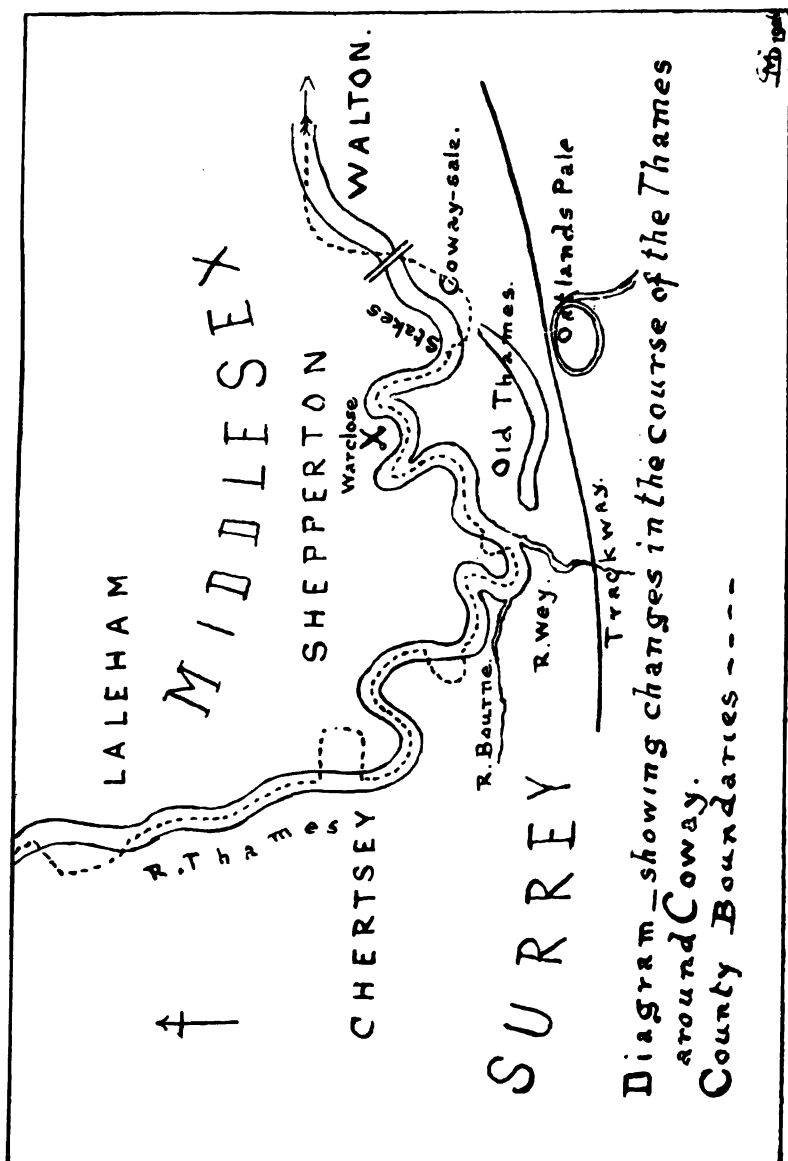
It is easy on paper to move large bodies of troops with their train from place to place, where a few iron-shod stakes or small earthworks have been found; but this learned writer has hardly given sufficient thought to the original condition of the country. During a stay in Britain of only two months, Caesar, with all his appliances, could hardly have cut a special route for his army through 100 miles of country in its primeval condition, and in the face, too, of a hostile population. There was no necessity for him to do this, as there was a direct trade route from the coast ports to Verulamium, which Mandubratius or other refugees could easily point out. Otherwise, unless to avoid some formidable obstacle, which would take too long to overcome, what object was there to be gained by the legions leaving the beaten track and plunging into the wild woodland, only to be harassed and sniped at by fierce back woodsmen?

From the sea camp at Deal to Verulamium and back is about 204 Roman miles, and out of the 55 days from August 2nd to September 26th, twenty would probably be occupied in actual marching. A week's stay may be allowed at the camp on the Hanwell-Ealing heath, where the tribes submitted to Caesar, and perhaps a few days at Sulloniacae on the northern boundary of the county in preparing for the assault on Verulamium. This would leave 25 days for engagements for foraging during the march, the taking of the capital, and for the embarkation of the troops.

#### THE COWAY STAKES.

Some learned writers contend that the Coway Stakes, one furlong west of Walton Bridge and 14 miles by river above Brentford, are those which were referred to by Caesar as having been placed by the British to oppose the crossing of his army.





Diagram—showing changes in the course of the Thames around Coway.  
County Boundaries — — —

Camden says—

“It is impossible I should be mistaken, because the river is scarce 6 feet deep, and to be about 80 miles distant from the east part of Kent where Caesar landed. I am the first that I know of that has mentioned and settled it in its proper place.”

Dr. Guest writes—

“I hope I have induced the reader to fix the place at the Cowey Stakes; at any rate it is certain it cannot be fixed in the neighbourhood of London.”

Geoffrey of Monmouth states—

“that the Cowey Stakes were placed to prevent the passage of Caesar’s ships; while other writers agree that they formed part of a weir or a bridge.”

The stakes were described as being as thick as a man’s thigh, black and hard and shod with iron. They stood in two lines *across* the river, 9 feet apart, the posts in each line being 4 feet from each other, while some were fixed in the bank as well. They had all disappeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

These two lines of posts have been called the *Coway* Stakes, for the southern end connected with Coway Sale, a piece of land consisting of 18 acres, part of the parish of Shepperton, Middlesex.

The land lies on the Surrey side of the Thames, and, with forty other acres in the parish, was subject to the right of cow pasture. This area was divided into 118 portions called Cowfarrens (a Wessex term for half an acre), each of which enabled the owner to keep one cow upon it. This detached part, known as the Sale, was doubtless so named from *sal*, a wooden hoop put round the neck to tether a cow, which the animal would need whilst grazing on its owner’s unfenced farren. Now at some date subsequent to the formation of parishes, which were gradually becoming defined about the tenth century—and “it seems pretty clear and certain that the boundaries of parishes were originally ascertained by those of manors”—the Thames, still in a primeval condition, appears in Saxon times to have changed its course in several places through the flat meads below Staines. (Plate IX.) For in addition to Coway Sale, 3 other acres of Shepperton, and 22 acres of Laleham parish (by Laleham Burway) lie on the Surrey or south

side of the river, while 14 acres of Chertsey and 8 acres of Walton parishes are to be found on the northern or Middlesex side. Otherwise the Thames formed the natural boundary line between the two counties and their respective parishes, along its banks from Staines to London. But as regards Coway Sale, we fortunately can glean some information regarding its severance from the rest of the manor and parish of Shepperton.

A wooden bridge between Shepperton and Walton was first built in 1770 under an Act of George II., and the approach thereto at the Surrey end crossed Coway Sale. One of the piers of this bridge seems to have been subsequently "blown up" by a heavy flood, and to guard against any recurrence of this, Manning, in his *History of Surrey*, says—

"Five arches were turned on the Surrey side, and in high floods the water now runs through them, taking that side, not the Middlesex. *Heretofore the river ran between its present course and Oatlands Pale, leaving the land now called Cowey or Cowey Sale on the Middlesex side.* There is now some water under Oatlands Pale which is called the 'Old water' or the 'Old Thames.' If so, it ran across where the five arches now are, and under Lord Tankerville's wall, which was Mr. Dicker's, the builder of the bridge."

Now the Stakes which lay across the new channel terminated at the north-western end of Coway Sale, about a quarter of a mile distant from and to the north of the old Thames channel; consequently, prior to the river altering its course here, and to the formation of Saxon Manors and their boundaries, the site of the Stakes did not then form part of the bed of the river, and *a fortiori* in British days when Caesar forced the passage of the Thames. Further, the line of the stakes lay not only at right angles to, but at some distance from the old river, and even if then existing, could not have been those referred to by Caesar when he says, "the bank was also defended by sharpened stakes fixed outwards," for this necessarily implies that they were driven in not at right angles, but parallel to the course of the stream; and, lastly, we have no evidence that the old Thames channel was ever fordable here.

We may therefore thus sum up the situation :—

- (a) In British days the course of the Thames from below the mouths of the rivers Bourne and

Wey, lay past the pale of the Oatlands Camp and the southern approach to Walton Bridge.

- (b) By the tenth century the Thames had cut through the marshland a new channel, about a quarter of a mile to the north, which was adopted as a division between the two counties.
- (c) At a subsequent date there was a further change in the course of the Thames, and four small portions of the two already defined counties became severed, and to this day remain detached on the opposite bank.

For what purpose, then, and when, did the Saxons drive these piles across the new channel of the Thames?

The simple explanation seems to be that these two rows of iron-shod posts of Durmast oak were constructed either (1) to form a passageway 9 feet wide, within which cattle could, by half swimming and wading through water "scarce 6 feet deep," cross the river in safety, for otherwise they would be liable to be carried down stream and be either lost or drowned; or (2) for a bridge.

When the invading East Saxons overran the Middlesex area (A.D. 550—600), and destroyed the Roman-British civilization, they would naturally pull down the bridges across the Colne and Thames at Staines (Pontes), so as to hinder any attack upon them from the south-west. But in the course of time, as the "hams" and "tons" of these new settlers gradually spread westwards through the Spelethorne Hundred, some means of ready passage across the river became more and more necessary, and especially so in times of peace between Mercia and Wessex. Now the old trackway of the Attrebatas, from the Kentish ports to Calleva and the West, we know passed close by on the Surrey side of the river, and here its new channel was scarce six feet deep. Such a spot probably then presented a more suitable site for the construction of a crossing place than the old one at Staines, where the deserted Roman road had been lost in the surrounding marshes. By the end of the eighth century, the monks at Westminster had become considerable landowners in this part of the Hundred. Ashford, Halliford (Halgeford, the holy ford over the Exe),

Laleham, Staines and Teddington were amongst their earliest possessions, the supposed gifts of King Offa (757—96), and later on they acquired Hanworth, Littleton, Shepperton and Sunbury (in all about 12,400 acres). Therefore, taking these things into consideration, it seems most probable that the stumps, which have been extracted from the bed of the river to the north of Coway Sale, were the remains of a cattle way, or of a wooden bridge constructed by an early Abbot of Westminster, to meet the increasing needs of the villani on his manors for an outlet beyond their western and southern boundaries.

The structure of this "way" across the river was probably destroyed during the warfare with the Danes, perhaps in A.D. 999, when Olaf, King of Norway, came up to Staines with 93 ships and laid waste the country about it. He moored his vessels to the bank at a spot still known as the Hythe (a landing place), and perhaps then proceeded to entrench his men within the dyke, which, according to Dr. Stukeley, formerly enclosed Staines, in order to provide a safe retreat before ravaging through Western Middlesex.

The battle which took place close to Coway Sale, in the field now known as "War Close" within the grounds of Shepperton Manor House, may have occurred during this incursion, when the stakeway was being destroyed to permit the passage of the vessels higher up the river to Staines. The remains of some of its stakes, which were still standing in 1807, have been known as the Coway Stakes, and for the last three centuries have given rise to endless speculation and controversy.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. REGINALD SMITH, F.S.A., pointed out that a minute knowledge of the area under discussion was essential to a full criticism of the paper, but one or two side-issues might be noticed. The Brentford stakes were much larger than the Coway specimen in the British Museum, but none seem to have been shod with iron. The fact that Edmund Ironside crossed the Thames at Brentford in 1016 disposed of Dr. Guest's objections, and the disposition of the stakes there answered much better to Caesar's description. Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (I, 2), said the piles were coated with lead, a most improbable statement that did not seem to be confirmed by discovery. Mr. Sharpe was to be congratulated on the excellent case he had made out for Caesar's crossing at Brentford.

Mr. MONTAGU SHARPE, in replying, said that he had considered the question of the presence of lead in his *Antiquities*,<sup>1</sup> and did not attach any importance to it. Bede did not state as a fact that the stakes were covered with lead; he was writing 700 years after Caesar's invasion and from hearsay, and what he did say was: "*it appears to the observer as though the several stakes . . . and cased with lead were fixed immoveably in the bed of the river.*"

Bede's informant when crossing the ford probably saw some of the old piles in the near distance, and fairly described the dull grey mud and river deposit with which they were incrustated, as a casing of lead. If that metal had been used it would long since have been stripped off and stolen.

It was a curious coincidence that Mr. Hanson, in describing the stakes in position which he unearthed upon the bank, says: "They appeared to be in a semi-petrified condition and of a dull *leadén hue* in colour from the contact with the mud by the mouth of the Brent."

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of Middlesex*, Brentford, W., The Brentford Printing and Publishing Company, Limited.



## Notes of Archaeological Publications.

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY FROM 1736 TO 1761. Vol. I, 1736-1746. Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras and edited by Sir J. FREDERICK PRICE, K.C.S.I., assisted by K. RANGACHARI, B.A.

The publication of the Diary of a native whom Sir J. F. Price dubs the "Indian Pepys" is a matter for no small congratulation to those responsible for the present work. Various portions of the Diary have been published in Paris, but this is the first time that an effort has been made to put before the public the whole, or so much of the whole as now exists, of the daily record of the confidential Native Agent of Dupleix.

The author of the Diary was born in Madras in 1709; his father, a prosperous merchant, emigrated to Pondichery in 1716, and there occupied a quasi-official position in the French service. After certain vicissitudes of fortune, Ananda Ranga Pillai finally won the good graces of successive Governors, and when in 1742, Dupleix arrived in India, he soon gained by his honesty and judgment the confidence of that remarkable man. During the administration of Dupleix, Pillai occupied the position of chief native agent, a post requiring very considerable ability and tact, especially at a time when the destiny of India depended on the commercial success or failure of one or other of the European nations which were then struggling for supremacy on the Peninsula. Pillai suffered by the fall of his patron; in 1756 he lost his post, and died in 1761, four days before the surrender of Pondichery to Colonel Coote.

The life of the author covers a very important chapter in the history of India, and one teeming with interest; and we open the Diary rather with a feeling that some surprise is in store for us. It is a very curious document: grave matters of State and domestic trivialities, society scandals and official secrets, commercial accounts and bits of gossip, are to be found huddled together, jotted down, no doubt, in the quiet of the evening, and never intended for the eye of any but the writer and his family circle. The Diary itself is of value chiefly as a record of the every-day life of Pondichery during the period of its greatness, it is doubtful whether it will supply much new *data* for general political history. When the author records hearsay information, it is often very general in terms; and probably not much reliability can be placed upon statements of fact of matters foreign to the rather narrow political horizon of Pondichery.

But if, on the other hand, we wish to know how Dupleix treated a native tumult, or of the intrigues and quarrels of the minor officials, or what presents were necessary for the purpose of bribing native potentates, or European adventurers, or the hundred and one matters which then made up the social life of a prosperous colony, we shall find

here a store of curious information obtained at first hand, and reliable for the best possible reason, namely, that the author was under no obligation to tell aught but the truth.

The general impression that results from a perusal of the Diary is that the French were, if anything, inferior to their contemporary English administrators in political acumen and commercial morality; that Dupleix stands above his fellows is evidenced by his vigorous personality portrayed in many indirect ways; but even he is unsympathetic towards native customs and manners, and he has his vision distorted and his policy hindered by that necessity of remitting dividends to Europe which ultimately cost France the loss of her Indian possessions. We much doubt whether his subordinates were actuated by any other motive in going to India than the hope of speedily amassing great fortunes. The Diary before us is full of their insubordination and corruption.

We need hardly say that we shall look forward to the publication of the next volumes with great interest, for in them will be contained the account of the rise and fall of Dupleix. In the meantime we offer our thanks to those who have prepared this work; the difficulties in the way of the translators have been very great owing to the dilapidated, and in parts fragmentary, condition of the manuscript; they have succeeded in opening to the world a unique document, full of human interest, and for the future historian of social India a mine of priceless information.

**CATALOGUE OF ZODIACS AND PLANISPHERES, ANCIENT AND MODERN.** By the Rev. A. B. GRIMALDI, M.A.

This little book contains notices of no less than 1,444 entries of Zodiacal representations, and is the first attempt to collect in one volume all known examples of all ages of the astronomical signs which appear to be nearly coeval with the origin of man, and which have influenced the principal religions of East and West. The continuity of these signs throughout history is certainly extraordinary; beginning with Babylonian *Matsebah*, they are to be found in every civilization which has flowed and ebbed in Europe, Africa, and Asia; and the uses to which they have been put are legion. We are sure that it will be a revelation to many that the quantity of material of this nature should still be extant; and we hasten to congratulate the author on the industry with which he has collected from many sources the materials of this catalogue which must be invaluable for future reference.

**THE CARE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS: AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER MEASURES ADOPTED IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FOR PROTECTING ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND OBJECTS AND SCENES OF NATURAL BEAUTY, AND FOR PRESERVING THE ASPECT OF HISTORICAL CITIES.** By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A., Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.

This book, appropriately dedicated to Canon Rawnsley, is of great interest to archaeologists. It shows how little has been done in England, and how much has been done elsewhere, for the protection of ancient monuments, including all old buildings and other memorials of the past.

Professor Brown justly says that, in the case of Stonehenge, the present owner of the monument is the last person in the world to fail in care for it, yet, that care shows, how absolute is the right of the private owner. In Italy and other countries that right has been limited for reasons of an æsthetic and historical kind. In all foreign countries there is a Minister who has charge of monument preservation; in several, compulsory purchase on the part of the State is permitted as a last resort; in this country the State has no means of exercising pressure on a proprietor.

The credit has been given to Raphael of first advocating the care of the ruins of ancient Rome, but the author thinks that interest in ancient monuments is far older. In Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia they had been cared for; Raphael's appeal was neglected by his successors. For practical purposes, the story of the modern care for monuments belongs to the last hundred years.

Professor Brown defines monuments so as to include all old structures and historical relics. No precise definition can be given to the term "ancient." The expression may be held to include natural objects of beauty and interest, such as Niagara, or the Yellowstone. In a country so rich in monuments as Great Britain, the taxpayer is not very willing to furnish the funds necessary for their protection, and requires to be educated. A valuable object-lesson is the preservation of the two churches in the Strand. Even the practical man must admit that they are adornments of the site they occupy. The older features of towns make its past live again. For the same reason, antique domestic structures deserve preservation. Public opinion has to be trained to see this, and it is one of the functions of societies like the Royal Archaeological Institute so to train public opinion. An example of this is given by the successful efforts made to save the Edwardian walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed. The local archaeological societies do much for the same object. Similar voluntary societies are active in France and in Germany, while periodicals also are circulated in the same interest, in Belgium, and in Italy.

In the second part of his work, Professor Brown deals with State action in the matter. He gives an excellent analysis of the legislation of France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Ireland, the Austrian Empire, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, the Danubian provinces, India, Egypt, Algeria, and Tunis. In an appendix is a brief but valuable note on the United States, where much has been done for the care of monuments, æsthetic control in cities, and the protection of natural scenery.

**STUDIES IN MORO HISTORY: LAW v. RELIGION.** By NAGET M. SALEEBY. pp. 107, with plates. Department of the Interior, Manila, 1905.

This work by, presumably, a Syrian author, gives the history of the island of Mindanao, the southernmost of the Philippine group, with the pedigrees of its rulers, and, in the second half of the volume, the laws of its tribes—the Moros—translated from the best procurable texts, with excellent photographic reproductions of some specimen folios.

The earlier portion, from native legends, is mythical in character. The conversion of the people to the faith of Islam, effected from Johore by one Kabungsuwan, is put by the author at about the close of the fifteenth century, whilst the MS. genealogies make eighteen generations only intervene between him and his direct ancestor, Muhammad, nine centuries earlier in date. Some of the names in the pedigree suggest those of the twelve Imams.

So far, therefore, the work is certainly archaeological in character, and the same may be said also of its second part, for the legal system there set out, which is adapted from recognised Muhammadan text-books, is probably enforced only to the same limited extent as is its archetype in India. The latter code is at least venerable and rigid; but one of the codes in this work, that of the Sulus, dates only from 1902, and the author says of it that it greatly increases the fines exacted from the people for the Sultan's benefit, and is unworkable, "the chiefs and the people looking upon it as another form of unjust taxation." The code lends colour to this view; the subject of "Trade and Exchange" is dealt with in an article of three sections, which provide, (1) that all commodities are included in its scope; (2) that to trade without the Governor's permit involves a fine; and (3) that "to buy a stolen article is the same as to steal it"—a short and model way of dealing with receivers.

Coupling this with Article 1, by which a thief is to be fined 70 pesos, "no matter what he steals," it is apparent that, in the eyes of the Sulu lawgiver of to-day, it is the penal aspect alone of commerce which is material to be considered.

#### CARTHAGE OF THE PHOENICIANS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN EXCAVATION. By MABEL MOORE. William Heinemann, 1905.

It is unfortunate that in this book Miss Moore should have tried to be at once scientific and popular. She certainly tells us much that is interesting of the excavations carried on by Delattre on an important site, and sometimes what she tells us is precisely what we want to know. But the book sadly lacks a sense of proportion; of the commonest and most decadent Apulian vases as much is made as of the early and indigenous fabrics discovered; we learn at length the technique of ordinary Greek vase-painting, but cannot gather, for instance, whether hand-made pottery has been found in any quantity at Carthage, and, if so, at what stage the wheel was introduced. Above all, precision in measurement, etc., is necessary for science.

The workmanship of the bronze razors would seem to have affinity with that of Etruscan mirrors and cists, the plastic work is derived almost wholly from Greek influence; the necklace figured on p. 44 is interesting, probably not local, but imported Egyptian of the later Ptolemaic period;—the "dice" beads compare with those of Naukratis. Apparently here as elsewhere the Phoenicians invented little and borrowed much, being the carriers, not the originators, of ancient art forms.

That Miss Moore's book satisfies our curiosity about Carthage cannot be said; perhaps she will be content if it rouses our curiosity to know more.

**MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES.** Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28.

Anything tending to illuminate our knowledge on the past civilisations of Central America must be very welcome, and this book will be no doubt of great value to the English-reading student of the chronology, orthography and mythology of ancient Mexico. Strictly speaking, its contents are not original or new; it comprises some 24 papers, written by the most acute German investigators of this great modern puzzle, which papers have been translated in readable form, and are now collected in one volume. As is to be expected, the knowledge we already possess is not carried very much further, but every step gained is a step nearer the goal, every hieroglyph deciphered brings us closer to the translation of those hundreds of elaborate inscriptions which at present remain a closed book to the archaeological world. We do not despair that eventually they will be read, for the difficulties to be surmounted are no greater than those which confronted the first investigators of the ancient documents of Babylonia and Egypt; it is to be hoped that a Rosetta Stone will turn up in the dominions of Montezuma and enable us to know more of a people than that derived from the *ex parte* evidence of their disdainful and superstitious conquerors. The present volume is amply illustrated, and though much of the contents requires a previous knowledge of the subject-matter, yet certain of the papers, notably those by Dr. Selser on the Mexican mythology as at present known to us, afford very interesting reading. We heartily congratulate those to whom we owe this volume, and we should not forget those students who are working in what appears at present a somewhat barren field. Their work must necessarily appeal to very few readers, yet they are doing a great service to archaeology in one of its most tortuous by-paths, and they are preparing the field wherein some day a rich harvest of knowledge will be reaped. The book itself, like all those coming from the same source, is excellently printed and illustrated—would that the quality of the paper on which it is printed had been more worthy of its interesting and learned contents!

**A HISTORY OF WESTMORLAND.** By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.  
London: Elliot Stock, 1903.

The cheap edition of the late Mr. Ferguson's work on Westmorland needs no introduction to our readers, many of whom remember his genial presence and profound knowledge, both of which illumined on many occasions the annual meeting of the Institute. The late Chancellor of Carlisle was particularly suited to write the story of the counties he knew so well, and whose early archaeology he had made his special field of research. The book before us is in many ways a model of what such books should be, and the only regret that we feel is that it does not contain any maps or plans, which would have assisted the reader very materially, especially in the chapter devoted to the Roman roads and stations, the last vestiges of which are fast disappearing before the ravages of man and time.

We can confidently say that this book contains far more original knowledge than is usually found (with certain honourable exceptions) in our county histories. The chapter which deals with the period

before the Conquest and with the stories of the respective baronies of Appleby and Kendal are full of ideas, and give the reader a vivid picture of what life must have been in the Border-land in those dark times. No wonder a race sprang up which could successfully defy the chicanery of James I., who alleged that by reason of the Union of the Crowns the tenure of the borderers had terminated and their lands escheated. The contest ended, strangely enough, in those days of servile judges in favour of the tenants, who thereby established that tenure peculiar to Westmorland and Cumberland named Border Tenant Right.

Litigation was not confined to the assertion of great principles, for we find in the middle of the seventeenth century the Countess of Pembroke expending £200 in obtaining a single hen from a recalcitrant copyholder!

It will be found that the politics of Westmorland were in the main the politics of its great men, and the rivalry of its great families divided the land long before the eighteenth-century quarrels of Lowther and Musgrave. Westmorland did not escape the ravages of the Civil War. The victorious Parliament imposed an obnoxious charter upon the burghers of Appleby, but no one could be found to make a proclamation of it until the Roundheads "had recourse unto a fellow in the market; an unclean bird, hatched in Kirkby Stephen, the nest of all traitors, who proclaimed it aloud, while the people stopped their ears and hearts, having nothing open but their eyes, and those even filled with tears" (p. 149). The loyalist Mayor in 1660 had the satisfaction of tearing up the obnoxious document with his own hands. It should be noted in passing that Kendal was, prior to the introduction of machinery into Lancashire and Yorkshire, the seat of a great trade in *rottons* or coatings being rough woollen material, prized in its day all the world over. Alas! the glory of Kendal has departed, and departed also have its proud guilds and old-time ceremonies. It is beyond our present purpose to notice, save in the briefest manner, the most striking features of this book, and we therefore will not carry the reader through the rebellions of '15 and '45, which bring the stormy story of Westmorland to its close. It was perhaps fitting that the last skirmish fought on English ground should have taken place in that border territory which had in past ages been so often the scene of Anglo-Scottish warfare. We cannot leave Mr. Ferguson's book without expressing our obligation to those who have reproduced it in its present form; the author's easy style and picturesque touches prevent the subject from ever becoming dry or scholastic. It presents a history not merely of Westmorland but of England, as seen from a new aspect; and, together with the companion volume on the County of Cumberland, will for long remain a monument to the memory of an accomplished and learned antiquary.

**HISTORICAL TOMBSTONES OF MALACCA.** By R. N. BLAND. 11 x 8½, pp. 75.

This book contains forty-one reproductions of tombstones erected by the early Portuguese and Dutch settlers in Malacca, and covers the troublous period from 1511 to 1640 during which the Portuguese were engaged in defending their position from their Mahommedan neigh-

hours and the newly arrived Dutch ; and the period from 1640 to 1795 during which the Dutch slowly established their trade in the face of native opposition.

Ten years before the English occupation in 1795, the Selangor Malays kept the Dutch confined within the town for six months, while during the Portuguese period the town stood no less than eight sieges.

The tombstones reproduced in this book, a roofless church, and a few other ruined fragments are all that remain of these troubled times.

The stones are remarkable for their carved borders and armorial bearings. The Portuguese stones are in most cases rather worn, but still show some pleasing examples of restrained design and well-formed lettering ; while the Dutch stones, which appear to have been imported from Holland, are treated in a somewhat pompous manner which is distinctly amusing.

We venture to set out in full two inscriptions reproduced in this volume, the first Portuguese, the second Dutch.

GRAVE OF ANTONIO PINTO DE FONSECA

Commander of the Order of St. James.

Provedor-General of the Fortresses of India.

Captain-General of the Sea and Land in the parts of the South.

Died on the 27th December, 1635.

Here lies buried MARIA QUEVELFERIUS,  
the distinguished wife of Johannes Riebeck,  
first Commander and Founder of the Fort and Colony of the Cape of  
Good Hope in Africa under the rule of the East India Company,  
now Commander and Governor of the City and Province of Malacca.  
Born at Rotterdam, 20th October, 1629 ; died 2nd November, 1664.

She to whom Rotterdam gave the light and Leyden education,  
whose wedding was celebrated in Schiedam,  
here lies now in this tomb.

(Johan van Riebeck was Commander and President of Malacca,  
1662-1665.

Several of these tombstones record the death of Armenian merchants, and bear bilingual inscriptions in Armenian and Portuguese or Dutch. ; Jacob Shamier born in Persia came to lay his bones in Malacca ; and another Johannes Donaco an Armenian of Erivan in Ispahan died here in 1736. One meets with several well-known Portuguese and Dutch names such as Mendoza, D'Oliveira, Rooselaar, and Van de Kerckhoven.

Several of these tombstones appear to have already been reproduced in the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

THE NABALOI DIALECT, by OTTO SCHEERER, and THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN, by EDWARD Y. MILLER. 10½ × 7½, pp. 199. Department of the Interior, Manila, 1905. Vol. II, Parts I and II.

This small volume continues the series, the first number of which was noticed on p. 282, Vol. LXII, of this *Journal*.

The book can hardly be described as having any archaeological interest, for it deals purely with the ethnological characteristics and language of two obscure tribes, situated in Northern Luzon and another island in the Philippine group. Both tribes are considerably more advanced than the Bontoc people described in the earlier volume.

A series of excellent photographs accompanies the letterpress, and helps to bring vividly before us the habits of these little-known peoples. A number of the illustrations deal with the extraordinary system of rice cultivation on irrigated mountain terraces; the remainder are mainly photographs of the natives themselves and of their primitive implements.

**THE ITINERARY IN WALES OF JOHN LELAND, IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1536-1539.** Extracted from his MSS., arranged and edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. 9 x 7, pp. 152. Bell, 1906.

As one of the earliest of our antiquaries and topographers, whose descriptions of local details as they existed very nearly four centuries ago, prove of such great historic interest and value to archaeologists of to-day, John Leland requires no re-introduction.

The scattered portion of his works relating to Wales have been here brought together. The text has been collated with the original, the *lacunae* being supplied from Stow's copy and from Thomas Burdon's copy now in the Bodleian Library. The editor has added explanatory footnotes and a very good sketch map showing a tentative reconstruction of the route followed by the author.

#### SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS. Vol. XLVIII.

In this volume the Rev. S. M. Livett completes his paper on three East Sussex Churches with an interesting account of the architectural history of Icklesham. Mr. Barrett Lennard publishes extracts from the account book of Lord Dacre of Hurstmonceaux kept between the years 1643-1649.

Other papers deal with the First Book of Southover, the Sussex Colepepers, Papal *bullae* found in Sussex, and coats of arms in Chichester Cathedral.

**THE CLYDE MYSTERY.** A Study in Forgeries and Folklore. By ANDREW LANG. 8vo. Glasgow (Maclehose). 1905. pp. i-xii, 1-141.

Mr. Lang has so pretty a gift in writing, and perhaps more particularly in controversy, that he can lend charm to the dullest of subjects, and surely at this stage the struggle over the authenticity of the relics found at Dumbuck and Dumbaie calls for a light and somewhat caustic touch. In Mr. Lang's little volume it gets the treatment the moment demands. His dramatic instinct would not err in a matter of this kind. Beginning with a sketchy but adequate statement of the position—in itself after ten years of controversy not the easiest task—he trips gaily in his accustomed manner from the Clyde to Portugal, and from Portugal to Central Australia, good-humouredly bantering one opponent and frankly admitting the honesty of another, in a



style all his own. Such a treatment unquestionably makes good reading, and one would rather have no responsibilities, and take the conclusions as being sufficing and complete. Unfortunately, the demon of criticism must perforce enter and dislocate some of the carefully articulated joints of his argument.

One thing is very clear. Mr. Lang ardently desires that evidence should be forthcoming to prove the relics genuine, and to do this he brings forward the products of one of the most primitive tribes known to us, and some very remarkable stone carvings from Portugal, the latter unfortunately themselves not entirely beyond suspicion in some quarters. While he wishes, however, for proofs of the genuine character of his protégés, it must be admitted that he stops short of claiming that their position is assured. He takes the more cautious stand of placing them to a suspense account, until further developments in archaeological research shall raise them to the height of certainty. Speaking soberly, this is the wise course. The story is so entirely incomprehensible that hardly any other course is open. An exploration conducted with every care—if not by experienced antiquaries throughout, at any rate by persons of intelligence, whose good faith no one has hitherto questioned—results in the discovery of the most primitive works of art it is possible to conceive; but among them is the shell of a “blue point” oyster, the country of origin of which can only be America! That is the case briefly stated, and it is not surprising that men of experience in such researches should view the whole matter with considerable suspicion. And so the case stands at this moment, despite Mr. Lang’s clever advocacy, and a much larger book by Dr. Munro, mainly concerned with this controversy. It is scarcely profitable in this place to enter into any detail. Without figures of the articles in dispute no good end could be served; but certain postulates may be advanced on the general question. First, it is a commonplace that primitive peoples almost invariably make their first artistic efforts on a common system, producing independently strikingly similar results, and further, what is even more curious, progressing in their art on similar lines. The simplest example is the greater prevalence of straight lines over curves as ornament among the earliest remains known to us. Again, the wonderful likeness of stone arrow-heads and other implements all over the world has often been advanced as proof of the unity of the human race. But, after all, is it more wonderful than the fact that a London cat adopts the same method to stalk a sparrow that a tiger practises on an antelope? The distance either in time or place is no greater in the one case than the other.

The second postulate is that before primitive relics are reasonably comparable one with another, particularly when the authenticity of one group depends on such comparison, it must be a condition precedent that the state of culture of the two peoples shall be more or less the same. The Solomon Islander, for example, may fairly be called primitive, but he is capable of producing pleasing, artistic conceptions to a degree far beyond anything found in the islands in his vicinity, and of infinitely higher rank in art than any Australian native is capable of. Yet these savages are living at the same time, in similar latitudes, and, as far as we can see, under nearly similar conditions.

To apply these arguments to the present case, we must ask ourselves, at what period were the Clyde relics made? They cannot well be of the Stone Age. If they are of later date—and if Mr. Lang's comparison of the Langbank find is of any weight, they should be of the Iron Age—then we are at once met by the difficulty that the Early Iron age people in Scotland were among the most artistic in Northern Europe at the time. How, then, can comparison with the least advanced people be of any avail?

This kind of argument is the only one that can be of any use in the suspended state that characterises the Clyde discoveries. No amount of gleaning among Australian savages can serve any useful purpose, and, even thus fortified, the literary graces of Mr. Lang's little volume leaves the careful reader unconvinced.

If we assume that the whole thing is a mystification, the purpose is hard to find. It seems likely that Dr. Munro is right in dividing the finds into two categories, the one being doubtful; but no person concerned seems to have gained or lost money by any part of the business. Rude objects were, however, made at all times, but rude as they may be, the really ancient have a character of their own that differentiates them from the attempts at rudeness of the modern forger. The tiara of Saitapharnes, which Mr. Lang brings in on his side, belongs to another category, and is of no effect for his argument.

The following publications have been received by the Institute :—

- Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society.* Vol. II. Part III. 1904.  
*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society.* Vol. IX. Part VI.  
*Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for 1905.*  
*The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* Vol. XXXV. Part 4.  
*The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine.* No. CIV. Vol. XXXIV.  
*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.* Vol. V. 1905.  
*Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London.* Vol. VII. No. 3. Vol. VIII. No. 1.  
*Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire.* Vol. XXXIII, 111. Vol. XXXIV, 1.  
*Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.* Vol. 50. Part I.  
*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. XXVIII. Part I.  
*Société Jervaise Trentième Bulletin Annuel.*

The following foreign publications have been received by the Society :—

- Aarbger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie,* 1904.  
*Boletín del Museo Nacional de México.* Segunda época, Tomo I, Números 6, 7, 9, et Número suplementario.

*Anales del Museo Nacional de México.* Segunda época, Tomo I, Números, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, et Tomo II, Números 1, 4, 5, 6, 10.

*Vjesnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva.* Nove Serije, sv. VIII, 1905.

*Památky Archaeologické a Mistopishé.* Dílu XXI, Sešit III-IV, V-VI, 1904.

*Starožitnosti země České.* Díl II. Čechy na úsvitě Děgin. 3.

This volume, which deals with prehistoric man in Hungary, is most generously illustrated and contains some sketch maps showing the locality of the "finds" of the objects illustrated in the text.

"*Kung Björns Hög*" vid Håga.

An account of the excavation of a burial mound near Upsala, by Oscar Alongoen. The photographs in the text are excellent as are also the reproductions in colours of the principal objects found in the mound.

*Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société de Borda Daz (Landes).* 1904 3<sup>e</sup> trimestre et 1905 2<sup>e</sup> trimestre.

*Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.* 1905 3<sup>e</sup> trimestre.

*Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.* Année 1905. Livraisons III et IV.

## ORIGINE ANGLAISE DU STYLE FLAMBOYANT FRANÇAIS.

Par CAMILLE ENLART, Directeur du Musée de Sculpture Comparée  
du Trocadero.

Lorsqu'en 1902 je fis paraître un *manuel d'archéologie française*, l'origine du style flamboyant restait pour moi un problème irritant. Ainsi que l'avait déjà remarqué M. G. G. Scott<sup>1</sup> ce style ne découle pas, en effet, des traditions françaises antérieures, mais l'influence artistique de la France sur les autres pays est si universelle de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, que l'idée ne m'était pas venue de chercher hors de nos frontières l'origine du style flamboyant, et que Mr. G. G. Scott n'y avait point pensé. Seul M. Edward Prior<sup>2</sup> a soupçonné une influence de l'Angleterre sur l'art français des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles,<sup>3</sup> mais il a cru reconnaître qu'elle s'est exercée en Bretagne, d'où elle se serait communiquée à la Normandie et aux autres provinces ; or les similitudes entre l'art de la Bretagne et celui de l'Angleterre viennent de sources normandes communes, et il est à remarquer qu'entre les provinces françaises, la Bretagne se distingue par son attachement tardif aux formes du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce n'est donc pas là que le style flamboyant s'est créé. Si nous voulons rechercher ses plus anciens exemples, il semble qu'ils se trouvent en Picardie et en Normandie ; l'Île de

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, Londres, 1881, p. 173 : "The history of the origin of French flamboyant style is somewhat puzzling at first sight, because, as far as I have observed, there are to be found in France almost no transitional examples connecting it with the geometrical style which it supplanted." (Note : The only intermediate example that I have observed is the Church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes, a building in every way remarkable.)

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Gothic Art in England*, London, 1900, p. 332-333.

<sup>3</sup> L'antériorité des monuments du style dit *decorated* sur ceux de notre style flamboyant, n'a jamais fait l'objet d'un doute en Angleterre ; de plus, leur analogie avait souvent frappé, et de là est né un contre-sens qui a fait appeler flamands (Flemish) certains de ces édifices, comme la chapelle de Sainte Marie de Beverley, citée et figurée plus loin. Dès longtemps, mon ami, Mr. John Bilson, s'était élevé contre cette expression qui intervertit les rôles, notamment dans une étude encore inédite sur Sainte Marie de Beverley.

France a pu l'adopter en même temps ou peu après. Plus au sud, le style flamboyant eut à Bordeaux son plein développement, tandis qu'à Albi ou à Carpentras, l'art du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle ne se dégage pas autant des traditions du XIV<sup>e</sup>. Il en est de même en Lorraine et en Champagne : près de Châlons, Notre Dame de l'Épine ; à Metz et à Verdun des portions des cathédrales nous montrent la persistance en plein XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'architecture du XIV<sup>e</sup>.

Mais, qu'il ait été adopté plus ou moins tôt, plus ou moins complètement, le style flamboyant a les mêmes caractères d'un bout de la France à l'autre : il ne se présente pas comme le résultat du travail parallèle et respectif de nos écoles provinciales, qui avaient su donner au style roman, puis au gothique, des formes si variées. Hors de France, au contraire, des pays qui jusque là avaient copié très exactement les modes des diverses écoles françaises, l'Espagne, le Portugal, la Vénétie, l'Allemagne, ont un style flamboyant nettement différent de celui de la France ; l'Italie n'en a pas, sauf quelques importations d'Allemagne à Milan, de France à Subiaco ; d'Aragon dans le royaume des Deux Siciles. Quant à l'Angleterre, son architecture du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le style perpendiculaire, diffère plus que tout autre du style flamboyant français. En revanche, si l'on examine ses monuments du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, on y rencontre tous les caractères qui distinguent en France l'art du siècle suivant.

Le style nouveau qui apparut en France au jour où elle s'affranchit de la domination anglaise et réalisa son unité nationale, ne serait-il donc qu'un emprunt fait à l'ennemi, et en recouvrant son indépendance, la France aurait-elle perdu au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle son originalité artistique ? C'est ce que se refuse à croire un de mes confrères les plus éminents, et l'un des plus sagaces parmi les archéologues français, M. Anthyme Saint-Paul, depuis qu'en 1904 j'ai émis l'opinion de l'origine anglaise du style flamboyant,<sup>1</sup> mais c'est un fait dont des preuves innombrables ne me permettent plus de douter.

Voici en quels termes mon ami M. Saint-Paul apprécie l'opinion que j'avais émise :<sup>2</sup> " Comment comprendre que

<sup>1</sup> *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, t. II, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5<sup>e</sup> Série, t. I (1905), 4<sup>e</sup> livraison, p. 235.

.....M. Enlart ait pu croire un instant à l'introduction du style ogival flamboyant par les anglais non seulement dans les pays occupés par eux, mais dans toute la France indistinctement? ..... M. Enlart n'a fait que jeter ici hâtivement des impressions reçues lors d'un voyage en Angleterre; nous pensons qu'un examen sévère des faits les modifiera considérablement."

Quelque regret que j'aie de démentir aussi formellement les prévisions de mon honorable confrère et ami, je pense que les faits que je vais exposer pourront convaincre mes lecteurs et lui-même.

Mais d'abord, il faut présenter les objections qui m'ont été faites, et j'y ajouterai celles qu'on aurait pu ne faire.

"L'influence anglaise dans l'architecture du Bordelais est une quantité négligeable" a dit M. J. A. Brutails,<sup>1</sup> et M. Anthyme Saint-Paul ajoute: "dans d'autres régions de la France, le triforium absidal de Saint-Séverin à Paris et quelques parties de Notre-Dame et l'hôtel royal à Calais sont à peu près les seuls souvenirs artistiques du passage ou du séjour des Anglais sur le continent."

On peut ajouter à ces remarques que jamais l'architecture de l'Angleterre n'a différé autant de celle de la France qu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. On peut surtout observer que dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, quelques-uns des caractères du style flamboyant apparaissent déjà en France: c'est au transept de la cathédrale d'Amiens une voûte à liernes et tiercerons<sup>2</sup>; c'est une autre voûte de tracé étoilé dans l'*album* de Vilard de Honnecourt,<sup>3</sup> c'est au porche nord de Saint-Urbain de Troyes une arcature en accolade<sup>4</sup> tracée vers 1300; peut-être antérieurement, puisque l'église fut commencée dès 1260. D'autre part, c'est à bon droit que Berty a montré<sup>5</sup> dans le profil si particulier des bases du style flamboyant l'aboutissement de l'évolution des bases françaises antérieures. Notons aussi que l'arc

<sup>1</sup> *L'archéologie du Moyen Âge et ses Méthodes*.

<sup>2</sup> Voir G. Durand, *Monographie de la Cathédrale d'Amiens*, t. 1<sup>er</sup>, Amiens, 1901, p. 234, Fig. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. XL de l'édition Lassus. Cette armature de voûte couvrant une salle carrée est formée plutôt de groupes de trois branches d'ogives que de liernes et

de tiercerons. Huit branches d'ogives retombent sur le pilier central et se refendent.

<sup>4</sup> Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, t. 1<sup>er</sup>, Paris, 1902, p. 588, Fig. 316.

<sup>5</sup> *Annuaire de l'Archéologie Française*, 1862.

en anse de panier, si prodigué dans notre style flamboyant, est rare en Angleterre.

On peut dire que la Grande-Bretagne n'a pas de style flamboyant, et l'on pourrait dire qu'aucune architecture anglaise ne ressemble à ce style si l'influence française ne s'était exercée au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Écosse, notamment à Melrose.

J'ajoute que deux écoles d'art peuvent se développer parallèlement et aboutir aux mêmes résultats sans que celle qui y'est arrivée la seconde ait nécessairement subi l'influence de l'autre, et ce pourrait être le cas pour les moulures qui, assez riches en Angleterre dès la période saxonne, y atteignent dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle des complications qu'elles n'auront chez nous qu'au XV<sup>e</sup>.

Ces remarques n'ébranlent pas ma conviction relative-ment à l'origine anglaise du style flamboyant, car les preuves en sont nombreuses et formelles, mais avant de les exposer, il sera bon de préciser ce que l'on entend par style flamboyant et de dire un mot de ses plus anciens monuments en France.

A l'inverse des variétés antérieures du style gothique français, qui obéissent à des considérations de structure, le style flamboyant a pour élément générateur principal un caprice décoratif arbitraire : l'opposition des contrecourbes aux courbes.

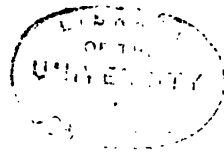
Il se reconnaît pratiquement et à première vue aux caractères suivants :—

Voûtes d'ogives compliquées de membres n'ayant qu'une utilité décorative, et dont les plus usités, de beaucoup, sont la lierne et les tiercerons.

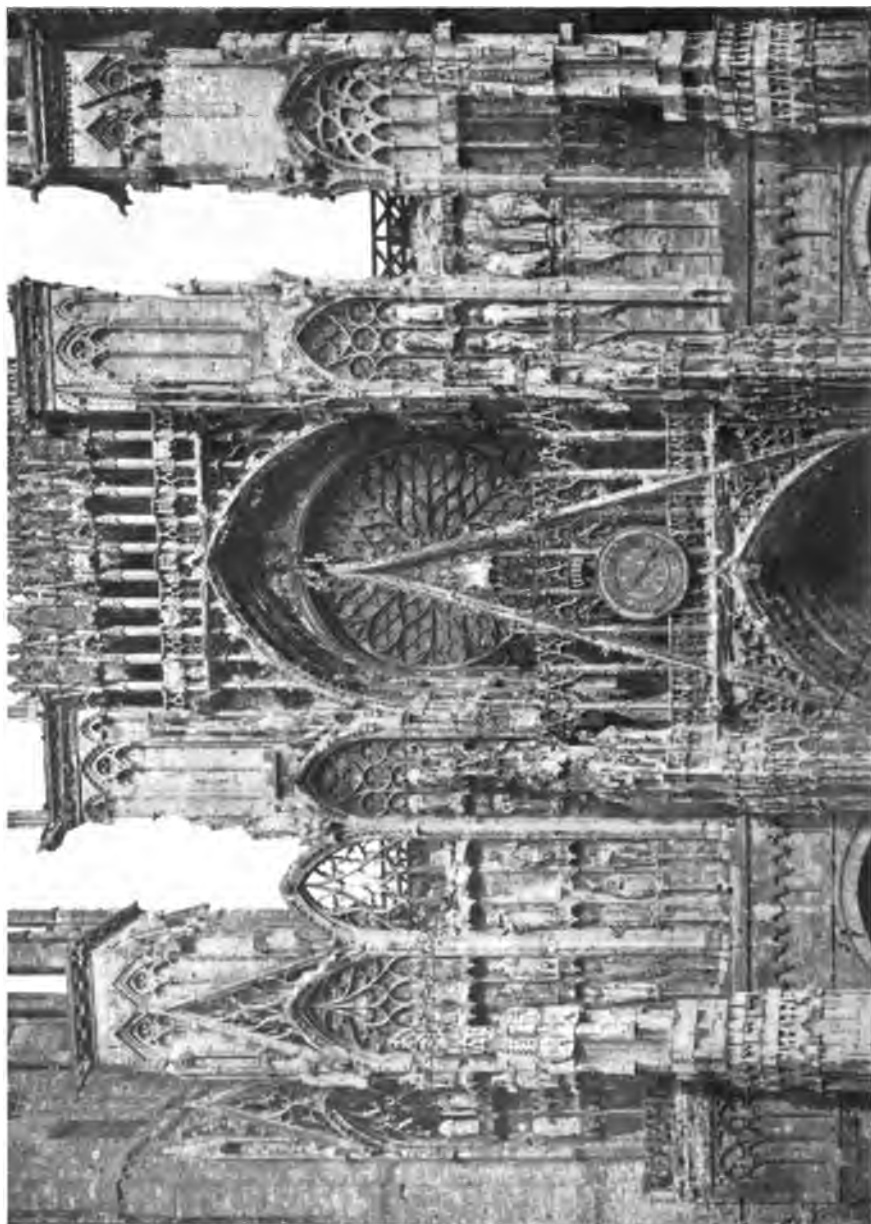
Arcs d'un tracé souvent moins aigu qu'à l'époque précédente, grande extension de l'usage de l'arc en anse de panier. Emploi systématique et extrêmement fréquent de l'arc décoratif en accolade.

Substitution aux trèfles et quatrefeuilles dans les claires-voies des tympanes des fenêtres et portails ou des balustrades, de formes en ellipse aiguë redentées à l'intrados et droites (soufflets) ou infléchies (mouchettes) ; l'ondulation de ces dernières est commandée par les petits arcs en accolade du fenestrage.

Supports couronnés de chapiteaux bas, affectant la forme d'une frise annulaire, ou parfois dépourvus de







CATHÉDRALE DE ROUEN. PARTIE SUPÉRIEURE DE LA FAÇADE.

chapiteaux ; bases d'un type nouveau dont le profil rappelle celui d'un flacon à large goulot annelé et à panse déprimée.

Prédominance de l'ornement géométrique sur l'ornement végétal ; adoption d'une décoration végétale extrêmement détaillée, déchiquetée et ondulée ; extension de l'usage des crochets de feuillage sur les rampants des pignons et frontons, et sur les extrados d'archivoltes. Recherche de pénétrations de moulures soit les unes dans les autres, soit dans les masses.

La voûte à tiercerons de la cathédrale d'Amiens vers 1240 ; à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle l'accolade de Saint-Urbain de Troyes et les piliers du chœur de la cathédrale de Rodez, avec leur tracé ondulé et leurs chapiteaux sans sculpture ; les formes flamboyantes qui ornent l'intérieur de la paroi sud du transept de Saint-Nazaire de Carcassonne sous la grande rose, quelques détails de fenestrages des chapelles du chœur de Saint-Just de Narbonne montrent des tracés déjà flamboyants, mais ce ne sont que de rares détails isolés, de bien peu d'importance en comparaison de l'abondance et de l'ensemble des caractères d'art flamboyant, que présentent à la même époque les monuments anglais.

A Saint-Thibaut (Côte d'Or) un retable de bois de la vie de ce saint, placé aujourd'hui au dessus du maître-autel, encadre sous des arcatures en accolade une statuaire qui appartient nettement à l'art français du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Or, ces accolades, dont l'intrados est festonné de petites arcatures, sont d'un type exceptionnel en France ; usuel au contraire en Angleterre. La collaboration d'une main anglaise dans la partie architecturale de ce morceau paraît donc plus que probable.

C'est entre 1370 et 1380 environ que se peuvent saisir les premières manifestations de l'art flamboyant en France, et la plus intéressante au point de vue qui nous occupe est probablement la reconstruction du haut de la façade de la cathédrale de Rouen. Fig. 1.

En effet, cette façade présente une composition singulière, exceptionnelle en France, mais tout-à-fait analogue aux frontispices de plusieurs cathédrales anglaises. Si à l'exemple de beaucoup d'églises fran-

çaises, elle a au centre une grande baie encadrant une rose, à droite et à gauche de cette baie s'aligne une série de grandes arcatures couronnées de gables, et refendues comme des fenêtres en panneaux dans lesquels se superposent trois rangs de statues, et cette ordonnance n'a rien de commun avec les habitudes françaises. Au contraire, elle rappelle absolument les façades antérieures en date des cathédrales de Wells, de Salisbury et de Lichfield.

La rangée de gables qui couronne la façade encadre des dessins où se mêlent les dessins rayonnants du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et les soufflets et mouchettes du style flamboyant, et leurs combinaisons rappellent souvent celles de l'architecture anglaise plus que les monuments français. Quant à la grande rose, son tracé est purement flamboyant. Or, cette partie haute de la façade de Rouen est certainement un des morceaux les plus anciens de l'architecture flamboyante, car nous savons qu'en 1370, le 24 décembre, le chapitre décidait la conservation des tourelles qui surmontent le grand portail et qu'il avait été question de démolir pour la construction de la nouvelle rose, déjà commencée à cette date.<sup>1</sup> Les nouvelles arcatures furent, les unes plaquées à ces tourelles, les autres établies entre elles. Elles subsistent en grande partie malgré des restaurations modernes. Quant au remplage flamboyant de la grande rose, il n'est pas certain qu'il n'ait pas été refait en même temps que le grand portail, au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Notons aussi que la rose du portail des Libraires (*O de Saint-Romain*) fut vitrée en 1380,<sup>2</sup> après celle de la Calende (*devers la vieu tour*)<sup>3</sup> et qu'elle n'annonce nullement le tracé flamboyant. Mais il semble probable que le vitrail de 1380 fut adapté à un fenestrage construit un siècle auparavant, avec le portail des Libraires.

En 1406-1407, on payait à Jean Lescot un ange et à Pierre Lemaire une gargouille sculptés au dessus du

<sup>1</sup> "Deliberatum extitit unanimiter quod turres supra magnum portale istius ecclesie existentes pro factione de O incepti minime corruant sed in statu maneat sine corrundo." *Archives Départementales de la Seine Inférieure*, G. 215, Inventaire, t. II, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Inventaire, t. II, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Cette *vieu tour* n'est pas une tour de l'église, mais la vieille tour des halles, dont deux rues conservent encore le nom.

portail Saint Jean, qui s'ouvre près de la tour Saint Romain, à l'extrémité nord de la façade.<sup>1</sup>

En 1419, la ville fut prise par les anglais, et les travaux de la cathédrale comme ceux des autres églises ne chômèrent pas pendant l'occupation étrangère qui devait durer jusqu'en 1449. Pendant cette période, les rapports du chapitre de Rouen avec les conquérants furent plus que courtois : dès 1418, nous voyons les chanoines accueillir comme frères deux chanoines d'York<sup>2</sup> ; nous les voyons peu après recevoir un legs de cent écus "du seigneur de Salsebery,"<sup>3</sup> puis donner la sépulture dans le chœur au duc de Bedford<sup>4</sup> ; en 1443, ils célèbrent le baptême du fils du duc d'York, régent de France.<sup>5</sup>

Le transept et une partie du chœur de la cathédrale d'Evreux sont parmi les monuments les plus remarquables et les plus anciens du style flamboyant. Le chœur, brûlé en 1346, fut restauré et en partie rebâti dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ; au début du XV<sup>e</sup> on y posait encore plusieurs vitraux, et l'on commençait le transept.<sup>6</sup>

En 1418, les anglais prenaient possession de la ville, et l'occupation étrangère n'y ralentissait pas les constructions.<sup>7</sup> En 1427, le chancelier du duc de Bedford, Martial Fournier, prenait possession du siège épiscopal, et la même année, le légat accordait des indulgences pour l'œuvre de la cathédrale. Cette faveur fut renouvelée en 1431.<sup>8</sup>

En 1441, les Français reprenaient possession de la ville, et l'évêque Pasquier de Vaux en concevait un tel dépit qu'il abandonnait son siège. Il fut remplacé par un prélat de sentiments français, Guillaume de Floques, fils du capitaine de Conches qui venait de reconquérir la place.

Le transept de la cathédrale devait alors être terminé ou peu s'en faut. M. Louis Régnier affirme qu'il ne peut être antérieur à 1450.<sup>9</sup> M. l'abbé Fossey, historien

<sup>1</sup> *Archives Départementales*, G. 2481, Inventaire, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, G. 2122, Inventaire, p. 217, 15 Mars.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, G. 2124, Inventaire, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, G. 2128, Inventaire, p. 223. Délibération capitulaire du 18 février.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, G. 2128, Inventaire, p. 226, 18 mai.

<sup>6</sup> Voir L'abbé Jules Fossey, *Mono-graphie de la Cathédrale d'Evreux*,

Evreux, 1898, en fol., Ch. IV et V ; et Louis Régnier, *Visite des Monuments d'Evreux*, Caen, 1889, in-12.

<sup>7</sup> Voir Fossey, ouvr. cité, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pièces justificatives, et l'abbé Blanquart, *Documents et bulles d'indulgences relatives . . . à la Cathédrale d'Evreux*, Rouen, 1893, in-8°.

<sup>9</sup> *Visite aux Monuments d'Evreux*, p. 10.

de la cathédrale, se rallie à cette opinion,<sup>1</sup> et avant eux M. l'abbé Blanquart<sup>2</sup> avait démontré l'erreur de la tradition qui attribuait l'édifice au règne de Louis XI.<sup>3</sup>

En 1442 et 1455 nous savons que le maître de l'œuvre était Jehan le Boy. C'est à lui que l'on doit probablement la tour lanterne, et en 1452 il remania la partie du chœur voisine du transept, où l'on posa le vitrail des Saintes Maries, orné des effigies du roi Charles VII, du Dauphin, du Pape et de l'évêque.<sup>4</sup>

Les meneaux de ce vitrail ainsi que d'autres fenestragés attribués à Jean le Boy sont conformes au type anglais procédant lui-même de traditions normandes antérieures, mais qui avaient été abandonnées au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Evreux. La baie est refendue en deux arcs dont un côté se confond avec son intrados. Cependant, l'obituaire du chapitre nous apprend<sup>5</sup> que ce fut aux frais de Louis XI c'est-à-dire de 1461 à 1483 que furent achevés ou restaurés plusieurs arcs boutants du chœur, la chapelle de la vierge, le croisillon sud et la lanterne du transept et qu'on éleva la flèche, le vestiaire, la bibliothèque, une partie du cloître et des bâtiments claustraux.

C'est durant son court passage sur le siège épiscopal d'Amiens, de 1373 à 1375, que Jean de la Grange fit ajouter à la cathédrale les chapelles des deux saints Jean, ses patrons, et le contrefort nord-est de la tour du nord. Son effigie en costume de cardinal prouve que l'œuvre ne fut pas achevée avant 1375. On ne peut mieux faire que de citer à l'égard de ces chapelles la belle monographie de la cathédrale d'Amiens par M. Georges Durand<sup>6</sup> :—

“La date précise de leur construction les rend extrêmement intéressantes pour l'histoire de l'évolution de l'architecture du rayonnant au flamboyant . . . La première de ces chapelles est couverte d'une voûte à

<sup>1</sup> *Cathédrale d'Evreux*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents et Bulles*, p. 10.

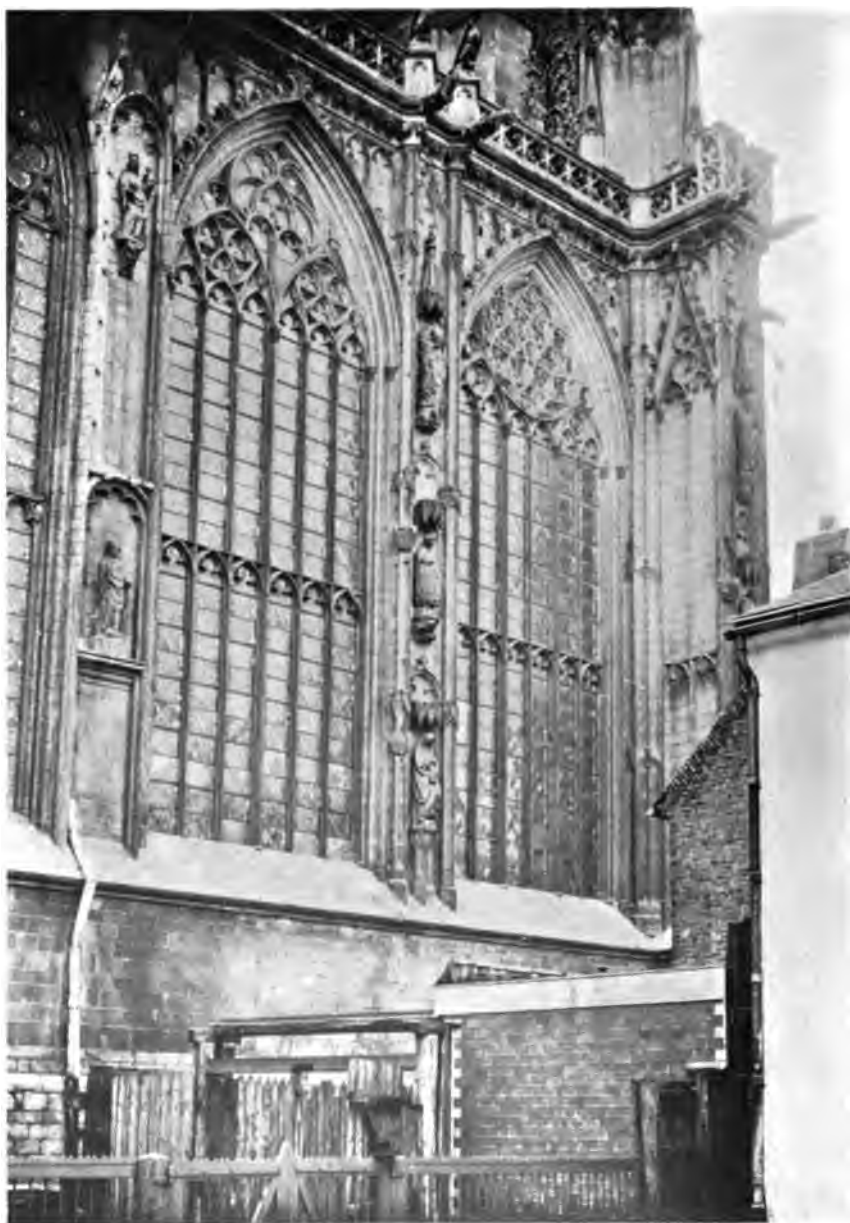
<sup>3</sup> *Le Gallia Christiana* a exagéré la portée du passage de l'obituaire qui relate les bienfaits de Louis XI; M. Anthyme Saint Paul s'est à son tour flé à cette appréciation.

<sup>4</sup> Fossey, *Cathédrale d'Evreux*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Abbé Blanquart, *Documents et Bulles*, p. 21; Fossey, p. 71, et pièces justificatives.

<sup>6</sup> *Monographie de la Cathédrale d'Amiens*, t. I, p. 482, Fig. 142 à 148, e Pl. XXV.

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CATHÉDRALE D'AMIENS. CHAPELLE DU CARDINAL DE LA GRANGE.

Photographie de M. Georges Durand.

liernes et tiercerons, sans ogives, formant en plan une étoile à quatre rais.<sup>1</sup>

L'autre chapelle est voûtée sur croisée d'ogives avec liernes et tiercerons . . . .

Les remplages des deux fenêtres sont de dessins variés, quoique conçus l'un et l'autre dans le même esprit. On y trouve déjà les soufflets, les mouchettes, les petites roses formées de deux mouchettes posées tête-bêche, en un mot, tous les éléments principaux du gothique flamboyant ; particularité à noter, étant donnée l'époque peu avancée à laquelle nos chapelles ont été élevées . . . les profils des meneaux secondaires tournent déjà fortement au prismatique. Le remplage de ces fenêtres est, comme les autres, coupé par une arcature horizontale, dont les redents sont ornés de petits bouquets de feuillages qui n'existent pas aux autres . . . les crochets qui décorent l'extrados de l'archivolte sont plus importants, les écoinçons entre cette archivolte et la corniche sont couverts par une fausse arcature, tandis qu'aux autres chapelles ils sont nus. La frise feuillue, enfin, qui décore la corniche, est formée de feuilles de choux frisés posées en refend.

Mais c'est surtout dans l'ornementation du double contrefort et du trumeau séparatif des deux chapelles que le style devient précieux et recherché. La face antérieure de chacun d'eux est flanquée elle-même de deux petits contreforts pentagonaux. . . . L'intervalle entre ces deux petits contreforts est divisé par deux petites accolades, redentées, en trois étages ornés chacun d'une grande statue . . . soit neuf en tout abritées par des dais . . . les faces latérales des grands contreforts sont ornées de remplages aveugles dont le dessin rappelle celui des fenêtres.

Les neuf statues . . . jouissent d'une très grande et très juste célébrité, non seulement parce que la plupart d'entre elles représentent des personnages historiques, et que la perfection de leur exécution permet de supposer qu'elles sont des portraits, mais aussi par leur grande valeur artistique." Fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> C'est le même tracé qui existe dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le *chœur des Neuf Autels* de la Cathédrale de Durham.



Non loin d'Amiens l'église de Folleville, célèbre par ses tombeaux de la Renaissance, possède une nef de style flamboyant qui pourrait dater de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, car elle fut bâtie aux frais de Jean de Folleville, prévôt de Paris, qui mourut en 1401.<sup>1</sup> Cette nef n'a pas de voûte ; ses fenêtres sont garnies d'un réseau de pierre à soufflets et mouchettes du style le mieux caractérisé. Malheureusement, il ressort de l'examen auquel mon confrère et ami M. Georges Durand a bien voulu se livrer pour moi que cette nef a dû être rebâtie avec le chœur au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle : les détails sont les mêmes ; les vitraux portent les armoiries de Raoul de Launcy et de sa femme.

Autour de Paris, le style flamboyant semble être apparu dans les belles constructions du règne de Charles VI, tels que les châteaux de Louis d'Orléans à Pierrefonds et à la Ferté Milon : le premier fut commencé en 1390 ; le second date de 1393 à 1410.

Peut-être même que dès le règne de Charles V, les somptueux édifices élevés pour le roi sous la direction de Raymond du Temple au Louvre, à Vincennes, à l'Hôtel St. Paul, aux Célestins portaient la marque de ce style. Il apparaît, en tous cas, dans la chapelle de Vincennes,<sup>2</sup> commencée vers 1387, mais qui semble n'avoir pas été terminée avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est difficile d'affirmer qu'elle ait reçu des formes flamboyantes dès le XIV<sup>e</sup> ; c'est toutefois probable. Fig. 3.

Dans le centre de la France, ce sont les maîtres d'œuvres des ducs de Berri et de Bourgogne qui inaugurèrent ce style vers la même date : à Poitiers, le pignon de la grande salle du palais, restauré par Jean Guérard, est de pur style flamboyant et date de 1393 à 1415 ; le palais de Bourges devait marquer le début du même style qui s'affirme en 1376 dans les clôtures de la chapelle funéraire de l'église de Souvigny (Allier).

À Dijon, le portail qui subsiste de la chartreuse de Champmol, fondée en 1383, est flamboyant ; c'est l'œuvre de Drouet de Dammartin ; en 1385, on sculptait ses consoles ; en 1388, l'église était consacrée.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beauvillé, *Documents inédits sur la Picardie*, t. IV, Paris 1881, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Voir *Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques*, t. I, pl. 79, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Courajod et Marcou, *Catalogue raisonné du Musée de Sculpture Comparée*, Paris, 1892, p. 69.

Ces quelques dates suffisent à démontrer que les premiers exemples du style flamboyant ont apparu dans les diverses provinces de France au cours du dernier quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.



FIG. 3.—VINCENNES. LA SAINTE CHAPELLE DU CHATEAU.

Photographie de la Commission des Monuments Historiques.

C'est vers la même date qu'apparaît en Angleterre le style dit *perpendiculaire*, car aucun style n'a la complaisance de correspondre aux divisions si commodes des siècles et des règnes, et le style français du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,

que le flamboyant a remplacé, était né lui-même vers 1280.

C'est vers 1340, à la cathédrale de Gloucester, qu'apparaissent les premières manifestations du style perpendiculaire, qui en 1360 fait partout son apparition, et persiste encore au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est donc contemporain du style flamboyant, mais il en diffère totalement.<sup>1</sup> Sans s'attarder à démontrer cette antinomie facile à constater, on peut remarquer que les modèles dont s'est inspiré l'art français du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle appartiennent à l'architecture anglaise non du même temps mais du siècle précédent. C'est précisément ce qui arriva à la Renaissance, quand les artistes français du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle imitèrent les modèles italiens du XV<sup>e</sup>.

Notons aussi que le style anglais du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, appelé communément du nom vague de *decorated*, et que Sharpe nomme plus exactement *curvilinear* à cause du tracé des fenestrages, n'est pas le style flamboyant. De même les châteaux d'Azay le Rideau ou de Chambord diffèrent-ils beaucoup des palais italiens du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que l'art du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle anglais comme l'art du XV<sup>e</sup> italien renferment tous les éléments caractéristiques de l'architecture française du siècle suivant. Je vais le démontrer pour le style flamboyant en prenant à part chacun de ses éléments caractéristiques énumérés plus haut et en recherchant à quelle date, toujours fort antérieure, ces éléments ont apparu en Angleterre.

Quelque importance que l'on attache aux tiercerons d'Amiens ou à l'accolade de Troyes, le nombre des exemples anglais antérieurs à 1375 montrera, je le crois, le bien fondé de ma thèse. Le nombre est tel que je ne puis ici faire qu'un choix parmi les plus importants et les mieux datés.

Si le transept de la cathédrale d'Amiens a reçu vers 1240 une voûte centrale à liernes et tiercerons, elle est si exceptionnelle qu'on a pu douter de sa date véritable, et si Vilard de Honnecourt a tracé peu après dans son

<sup>1</sup> Le caractère le plus typique du style perpendiculaire est le prolongement des meneaux verticaux jusqu'à l'intrados de l'arc de la fenêtre. Cette disposition se rencontre par exception

dans un exemple français antérieur, à la fenêtre qui surmonte le portail nord de l'église de Villeneuve sur Yonne et qui date du commencement du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

album une voûte en étoile destinée à couvrir une salle carrée, cette voûte repose sur un pilier central et n'est qu'une variante des combinaisons de branches d'ogives qui s'appliquaient aux plans rayonnants, surtout aux travées en éventail des déambulatoires. On ajoutait à la travée une ou deux branches d'ogives du côté extérieur<sup>1</sup> : ici, on a supprimé une branche du côté intérieur ; si le dessin en plan est analogue, le principe est différent.

Les habitudes des maîtres d'œuvres anglais rendent probable l'origine britannique des tiercerons : en effet, si dans presque toutes les voûtes d'ogives françaises, les joints sont perpendiculaires aux doubleaux et formerets, les joints de beaucoup de voûtes anglaises sont tracés perpendiculairement à une bissectrice coupant chaque voûtin ; or le tierceron est précisément cette bissectrice et a dû être imaginé par des maîtres d'œuvres usant du tracé anglais. La lierne qui s'y relie arrive fort à propos pour masquer le raccord difficile et peu gracieux des voûtins appareillés suivant cette méthode. Aussi en Angleterre, les liernes courent-elles généralement de la clef des ogives à celles des doubleaux et formerets, au lieu de s'arrêter à la jonction des tiercerons, comme dans les monuments français du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>2</sup>

Les liernes sont, en Angleterre comme en France, antérieures aux tiercerons. On les trouve à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle sur les chapelles du croisillon nord de la cathédrale de Ripon. En France, des exemples antérieurs se voient en Picardie, à Luchaux et à Airaines, et d'autre part dans l'Anjou, qui a gardé l'usage de ces couvre-joints pour cacher les raccords des voûtins appareillés en divers sens. L'appareil de voûte dit anglais et la lierne, qui en est souvent la conséquence, durent être importés d'Anjou dans le royaume des Plantagenets.

<sup>1</sup> Une branche à Gonesse, deux à la cathédrale d'Auxerre. Bien d'autres dispositions rayonnantes ont été imaginées, comme celles de Notre-Dame de Paris, de la cathédrale de Bourges, ou des déambulatoires champenois étudiées par M. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis à propos du déambulatoire de Saint-Martin d'Étampes (*Bulletin Monumental*, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> A Amiens, comme en Angleterre, les liernes rejoignent les clefs des formerets. Par contre, la lierne s'arrête à la jonction des formerets dans quelques uns des plus anciens exemples anglais ; salle capitulaire de Chester (*Bond*, p. 324, Fig. 3), nefs de Lincoln (*ibid.*, Fig. 4) et de Lichfield (*ibid.*, Fig. 9).

Quoi qu'il en soit, certaines armatures de voûtes, inusitées en France avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, sont usuelles en Angleterre dès le XIII<sup>e</sup>.

La nef de la cathédrale de Lincoln était achevée vers 1237. L'armature de ses voûtes<sup>1</sup> se compose d'ogives, liernes et tiercerons (fig. 4). Sur le chœur des Anges, ajouté de 1256 à 1280,<sup>2</sup> les mêmes éléments se combinent différemment.

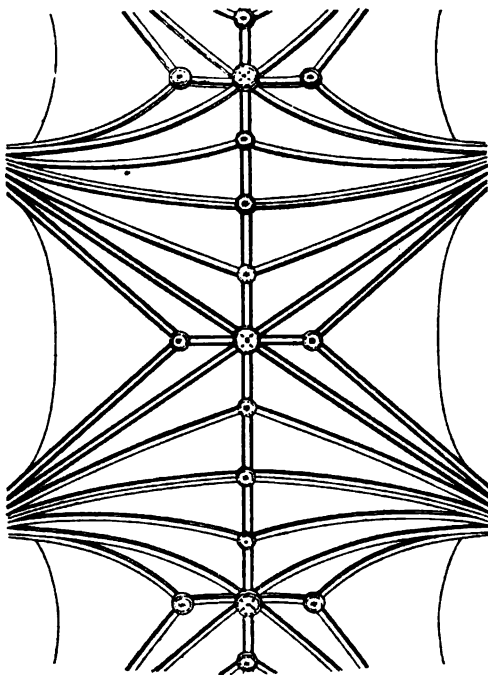


FIG. 4.—CATHÉDRALE DE LINCOLN. VOÛTES DE LA NEF.

La nef de la cathédrale de Lichfield, bâtie dans la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, a des voûtes à liernes et tiercerons.<sup>3</sup>

Des voûtes à liernes et tiercerons couvrent les six travées orientales de la cathédrale d'Ely (fig. 5), rebâties

<sup>1</sup> Il est à remarquer que les formerets y sont tracés en plein cintre, comme dans beaucoup de voûtes plus anciennes.

<sup>2</sup> En 1256, autorisation de démolir les vieux remparts pour l'extension du

chœur de la cathédrale; en 1280, translation des reliques de saint Hugues dans le nouvel édifice.

<sup>3</sup> Voir Fr. Bond, ouvr. cité, p. 113.

de 1234 à 1252.<sup>1</sup> Les trois travées les plus proches de l'octogone central<sup>2</sup> ont été rebâties à nouveau, aussitôt après la chute de la tour, en 1322 ; elles étaient achevées en 1336.<sup>3</sup> Leur tracé est déjà extrêmement compliqué. D'autres voûtes à liernes et tiercerons se voient sur la chapelle de la Vierge, édifiée de 1321 à 1349.<sup>4</sup>

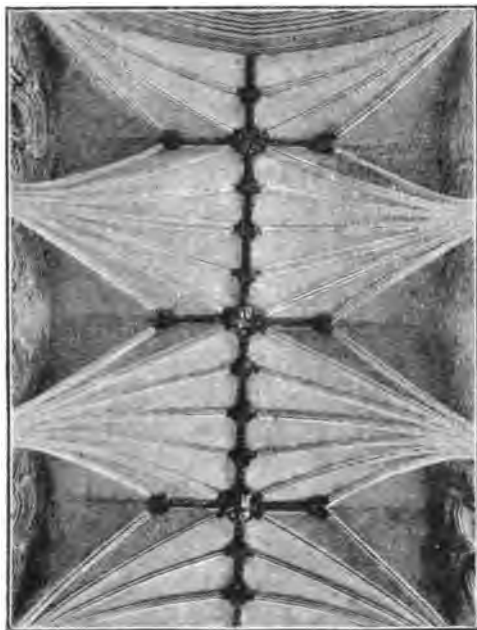


FIG. 5.—CATHÉDRALE D'ELY. VOÛTES DU CHŒUR. D'après Bond.

Le chœur de l'église abbatiale de Selby, commencé vers 1280, terminé vers 1340, a des voûtes de bois à liernes et tiercerons imitant la forme de voûtes de pierre.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elles sont dessinées par Viollet-le-Duc dans le *Dict. d'archit.*, t. IV, p. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> V. ci-après, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> D.-J. Stewart : *The Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, Londres, 1863 : p. 100, commencement des travaux en 1322 ; p. 104, emmarchement de marbre de la chaise, *sacrist's roll*, 1336-7 ; 1338, nouvelles stalles. En 1336, on enterrait dans le nouveau chœur l'évêque Jean de Hotham. Les

voûtes les plus anciennes sont celles du bas-côté sud, qui n'ont que des ogives et des liernes ; celles du bas-côté nord sont, au contraire, fort compliquées et d'un tracé qui n'a pas de similaire en France.

<sup>4</sup> V. ci-après, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> V. C.-C. Hodges : *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, t. XII, p. 360, 370. Ces voûtes sont aussi figurées dans Prior : *A History of Gothic Art in England*, p. 358.

C'est encore sur des armatures de ce type que reposent les voûtes du jubé auquel s'appuie l'autel de la collégiale de Beverley ; or cette clôture fut payée en 1334.<sup>1</sup>

L'église Sainte-Marie, dans la même ville, a sur le bas-côté nord du chœur (Fig. 21) des voûtes semblables. On ignore la date précise de ce collatéral ; on sait toutefois qu'il fait partie de l'agrandissement du sanctuaire entrepris au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et arrêté par la peste noire de 1349.<sup>2</sup>

On peut citer des voûtes à liernes et tiercerons sur le chœur de Pershore<sup>3</sup> ; l'œuvre date de 1223 à 1239, mais les voûtes durent être refaites après l'incendie de 1288.

A la cathédrale de Chichester, la partie orientale de la chapelle de la Vierge, voûtée à liernes et tiercerons, est l'œuvre de l'évêque Gilbert de Saint-Léofard, de 1288 à 1305.

Le chœur de Saint-Albans, qui fut achevé à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, est couvert d'un lambris de bois qui peut être contemporain et qui imite la voûte à liernes et tiercerons. Le transept dit des Neuf-Autels, ajouté à l'est de la cathédrale de Durham, de 1242 à 1280 environ,<sup>4</sup> présente une autre combinaison, inconnue en France avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle : c'est une double croisée composée de quatre paires divergentes de branches d'ogives qui viennent se réunir en étoile, comme des tiercerons autour d'un œil central. Après le premier quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la complication des voûtes anglaises dépasse souvent celle de nos monuments flamboyants : on en peut citer comme preuve le chœur de la cathédrale de Bristol, élevé de 1298 à 1332,<sup>5</sup> et dans celle de Gloucester les voûtes du croisillon sud qui datent de 1331 à 1337,<sup>6</sup> ou celles du chœur construites de 1337 à 1377.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. ci-après, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Seules les trois travées de l'est sont voûtées et leurs piliers ont en plus de ceux de l'ouest un dossier très saillant qui épaula les voûtes. Cet éperon n'est pas une addition, mais fait corps avec le faisceau de colonnes qui forme le reste du pilier.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Bond : *Gothic Architecture*, p. 75, et Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> V. W. Greenwell : *Durham Cathedral*, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., Durham, 1897, in 8°, pl. en regard de la p. 37 et pp. 59 et suiv.

<sup>5</sup> V. Fr. Bond : *Gothic Architecture in England*, Londres, 1905, in-8°, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

La même différence de complication apparaîtra si l'on compare la voûte en étoile sur pilier central, dessinée par Vilard de Honnecourt vers 1250,<sup>1</sup> et la voûte de la salle capitulaire décagone de Lincoln (fig. 6), construite vers 1230.<sup>2</sup> Huit arcs retombent sur le pilier central de la première; vingt sur celui de la seconde; dans la salle capitulaire octogone de Wells, commencée avant 1302, terminée au plus tôt en 1319, la retombée centrale ne comprend pas moins de trente-deux arcs.<sup>3</sup>

L'accolade, qui peut être l'élément le plus caractéristique de notre style flamboyant, est une des formes

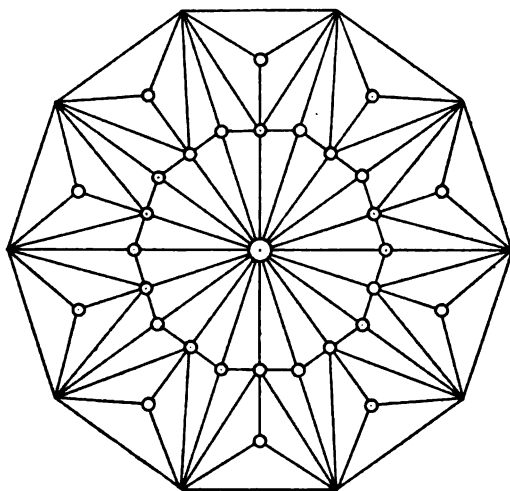


FIG. 6.—VOÛTE DE LA SALLE CAPITULAIRE DE LINCOLN.

les plus répandues en Angleterre au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle consiste dans l'opposition de deux contre-courbes à la courbe ou aux deux courbes d'un arc, sur son sommet.

En France, vers 1300, la galerie qui règne au revers de la façade de la cathédrale de Reims, entre la rose et les portails, est surmontée d'un rang de demi-cercles à redents intérieurs qui dessinent comme des accolades sur

<sup>1</sup> V. ci-dessus, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Bond, ouv. cité, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> V. C.-M. Church: *Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells*,

Londres, 1894, p. 300, et *Architectural Association Sketch Book, new series*, Vol. IX, Londres, 1899, pp. 33, 35.



ses arcades. Cette combinaison est accidentelle, mais une accolade délibérément tracée existe, on l'a vu, à Troyes, dans une arcature de porche de Saint-Urbain, dont les chapiteaux indiquent l'extrême fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>1</sup> Cette arcature a pu être remaniée ou exécutée longtemps après les autres, car la construction fut lente. Je ne veux pas tirer argument du surnom du premier maître de l'œuvre, *Joannes Anglicus*.<sup>2</sup> Ce Jehan Langlois pouvait avoir des ancêtres anglais, mais il construisait en style champenois. Quoi qu'il en soit de la date de ce détail de Saint-Urbain, l'accolade est complètement inusitée en France avant les dernières années du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, à moins que l'on ne prenne en considération les petites accolades produites incidemment quand, dans un fenestrage, un trèfle est posé sur une arcature.

En Angleterre, au contraire, les archivoltes, tracées franchement en accolade, sont nombreuses durant tout le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle; le dessin en est souvent plus accentué qu'en France et parfois même ce tracé, au lieu d'être réservé à l'archivolte, s'étend aussi à l'arc qu'elle encadre, comme à la porte du palais de Saint-David's ou à la grande fenêtre occidentale de l'église de Wilby.<sup>3</sup> Une infinité de monuments où s'affirme franchement l'accolade sont donnés par Parker, Sharpe, Fr. Bond, Prior et autres archéologues anglais, comme exemples de l'art du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. En admettant même qu'une partie des dates qu'ils proposent soient erronées, il est impossible que tous les monuments anglais pourvus d'accolades et attribués au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle aient été mal datés : ce serait, en effet, la presque totalité. Beaucoup ont, du reste, un état civil en règle et ce sont non seulement des églises mais des tombeaux de grands personnages, qui ne sauraient être très éloignés des dates de décès.

M. Fr. Bond, en constatant l'origine de l'accolade à l'extrême fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et sa grande diffusion en Angleterre depuis 1315, remarque combien cette mode

<sup>1</sup> V. Enlart : *Manuel d'archéologie française*, t. I, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> Sur Saint-Urbain de Troyes, v. A. Babeau, Troyes, 1891, in-8<sup>v</sup>; sur Langlois, v. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis : *Jean*

*Langlois, architecte de Saint-Urbain de Troyes*, Caen, 1904, in-8<sup>o</sup> (*Bull. Monum.*, LXVIII, p. 93).

<sup>3</sup> Bond, *ouv. cité*, p. 270.

anglaise du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle est conforme à la mode française du XV<sup>e</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Un des plus anciens exemples de l'emploi de ce tracé se voit dans la croix monumentale élevée près de Northampton à la mémoire de la reine Éléonore et en vertu de son testament; les exécuteurs testamentaires la firent ériger de 1291 à 1294.<sup>2</sup>

L'accolade se rencontre déjà dans la clôture de chœur de la cathédrale de Canterbury, que fit élever le prieur Eastry en 1304.<sup>3</sup>

M. Francis Bond considère comme des exemples du même temps les accolades au sud de l'église de Northfleet (Kent), celles de la fenêtre du chevet de Sainte-Marie de Stratford (Suffolk), de la piscine de Fyfield (Berkshire) et des têtes de culées du chœur de Winchelsea.<sup>4</sup>

Guillaume de la Marche, évêque de Bath et de Wells, trésorier d'Édouard I<sup>er</sup>, mourut en 1302 et fut inhumé à l'extrémité sud du transept de sa cathédrale<sup>5</sup> (fig. 7).

La statue couchée, les têtes assez singulières qui ornent le bas du sarcophage et les parois extrêmes de la niche, les anges admirables mais malheureusement mutilés qui décorent la paroi de fond, toute la sculpture, en un mot, appartient au style qui règne vers 1300 en Angleterre comme en France, mais la clôture légère qui ferme la niche se compose de trois arcades en tiers-point qu'encadrent des archivoltes résolument tracées en accolade; des feuillages touffus dans le style ordinaire du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle les garnissent et forment leurs fleurons terminaux. Des redents festonnent l'intrados de chaque arcade et deux de ces petits arcs sur trois sont tracés en accolade bien caractérisée. Sur les montants, on remarque l'absence de chapiteaux et la présence de minuscules arcatures infiniment étroites, couronnées de frontons extrêmement aigus. Cette décoration, qui

<sup>1</sup> *Gothic Architecture in England*, *Ogee Arch.*, p. 270, "... when once introduced, there was a mania for it. Late English decorated and French flamboyant are simply a glorification of the ogee arch.; the builders could not have enough of it ..."

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Cavelar: *Specimens of Architecture*, pl. 27, et Prior: *Gothic Art*, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> *Gothic Architecture*, p. 270-271.

<sup>5</sup> V. C.-M. Church: *Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells*, Londres, 1894, pl. en regard des pp. 288 et 289, et *Architectural Association Sketch Book*, new series, Vol. VIII, Londres, 1888, pl. 36 à 39.

affirme bien le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, se retrouve identiquement à la façade de la cathédrale d'Auxerre.

C'est sous l'épiscopat du même Guillaume de la Marche que fut commencée la salle capitulaire octogone inaugurée en 1319. Sa voûte, étoilée de tiercerons, présente, on l'a vu, une complication extrême. Dans les fenestragés de cette salle, de petits arcs en accolade soutiennent des trèfles aigus dont les pointes s'affinent pareillement de deux contre-courbes.<sup>1</sup> Dans la même cathédrale, la tombe du doyen Husee, mort en 1305,



FIG. 7.—CATHÉDRALE DE WELLS. TOMBEAU DE GUILLAUME DE LA MARCHE.

transportée aujourd'hui dans une chapelle du transept, a des arcatures à accolades ; à l'entrée de la chapelle Sainte-Catherine, la tombe de l'évêque Jean de Drokensford, mort en 1329, se compose d'une statue couchée sur un sarcophage orné d'arcatures en accolade.<sup>2</sup> Deux autres morceaux d'architecture, élevés du vivant même de cet évêque, présentent le même tracé, ce sont l'étage supérieur de la tour centrale, qu'on sait avoir été couverte en 1321,<sup>3</sup> et la chapelle de la Vierge, désignée

<sup>1</sup> Ouv. cités : Church, p. 300, et *Sketch Book, new series*, vol. IX, Londres, 1889, pl. 33 à 35 et ci-dessus, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Church, ouv. cité, pl. en regard de la p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

en 1326 comme "noviter constructa."<sup>1</sup> La chapelle de la Vierge de la cathédrale de Lichfield, que l'on sait avoir été commencée par Walter Langton, évêque de 1296 à 1322, a des fenêtres encadrées d'archivoltes à accolades prononcées.

En 1322, la tour centrale de la cathédrale d'Ely

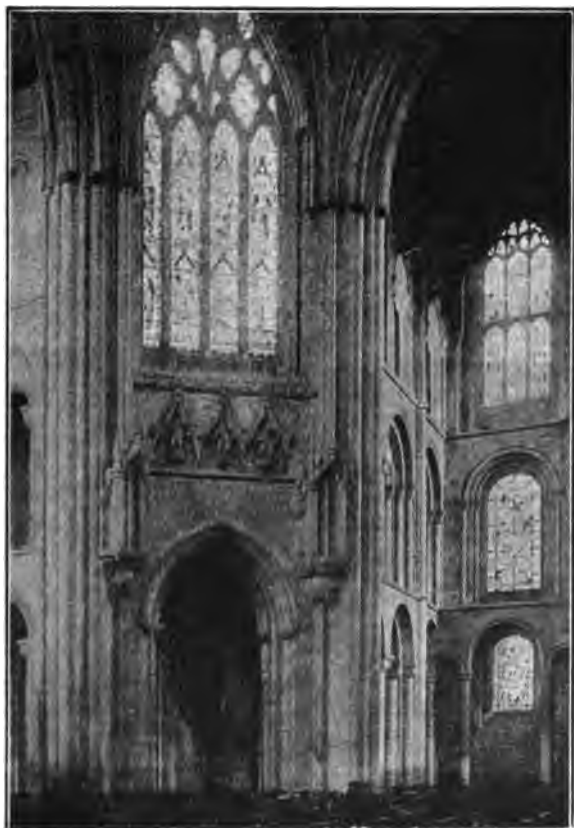


FIG. 8.—ROTONDE DE LA CATHÉDRALE D'ELY.

s'écroula et, pour la reconstruire, on imagina de créer au centre du transept une rotonde octogone surmontée d'une lanterne, comme à la cathédrale de Sienne. Nous avons, par des pièces d'archives, les dates absolument précises de cette construction qui était terminée vers 1335, à l'exception des ornements de sa voûte de bois et

<sup>1</sup> Church, p. 310.

du lanternon terminal.<sup>1</sup> Les niches ménagées dans l'octogone entre les arcades et les fenêtres et sur les piliers ont donc été exécutées entre 1323 et 1334; or, elles sont tracées en accolade très accentuée (fig. 8).

C'est de 1321 à 1349 que fut élevée la chapelle de la Vierge de la même cathédrale<sup>2</sup>; elle réunit tous les caractères de notre style flamboyant; les accolades, notamment, y sont franchement affirmées dans le couronnement des niches (fig. 9) qui, sur tout le pourtour intérieur, abritent les stalles de pierre.<sup>3</sup> Ce monument est aussi caractéristique que bien daté.

En 1323 mourut Aimery de Valence, enterré à Westminster. L'intrados du grand arc du baldaquin de son tombeau est festonné d'arcatures en accolade.<sup>4</sup> La même disposition existe à Saint-David's au tombeau de l'évêque Gower, mort en 1328.<sup>5</sup>

En 1331, le monument de sir James Douglas, dans l'église de Douglas, s'abrite sous une niche dont l'archivolte décrit une accolade prononcée couronnée d'un fleuron.<sup>6</sup>

En 1330, à Bristol, le chœur bâti par l'abbé Knowle a des stalles de pierre surmontées d'exhubérantes accolades entrelacées.<sup>7</sup>

Dans l'église de Winchelsea, le monument de Ger-vase Alard, qui était en 1307 amiral des Cinq-Ports, est

<sup>1</sup> V. D.-J. Stewart: *The Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, Londres, 1868: p. 82: chute de la tour, le 12 février 1322; p. 92, *sacrist's roll*, 1322-3, préparatifs de reconstruction; p. 98, *sacrist's roll*, 1334-5, construction de la couverture en charpente de la lanterne, peintures à la voûte de bois; p. 103, 1336-7, item; p. 107, 1339-40, sculpture des clefs de voûtes, vitrage de l'étage supérieur de la lanterne (en 1345-6, on travaillait encore à ces verrières et l'on fondait quatre cloches); p. 120, 1352-3, couvertures de plomb de la lanterne; en 1375, les comptes et l'œuvre sont terminés.

<sup>2</sup> D.-J. Stewart, ouv. cité: pp. 136 et 138, pose de la première pierre, le jour de l'Assomption 1321; en 1349, l'œuvre était presque terminée quand mourut le maître qui la dirigeait, le moine Jean de Wisbeach, 1349. "Et cum . . . per annos XXVIII et septimanas XIII opus predictum sollicitudine

maxima continuasset, et structuram lapideam cum imaginibus infra capellam et extra, numero CXLVII, preter minutas imagines in tabula supra altare et preter imagines ad hostium introitus in capella, opus etiam ligneum plumbo tectum et agabulum orientale cum duabus fenestris ex utraque parte capelle ferro et vitro pulcherrime apparatus consummasset anno Domini MCCCXLIX, XVI calend. Julii, tempore communis pestilentie ex hac luce migravit."

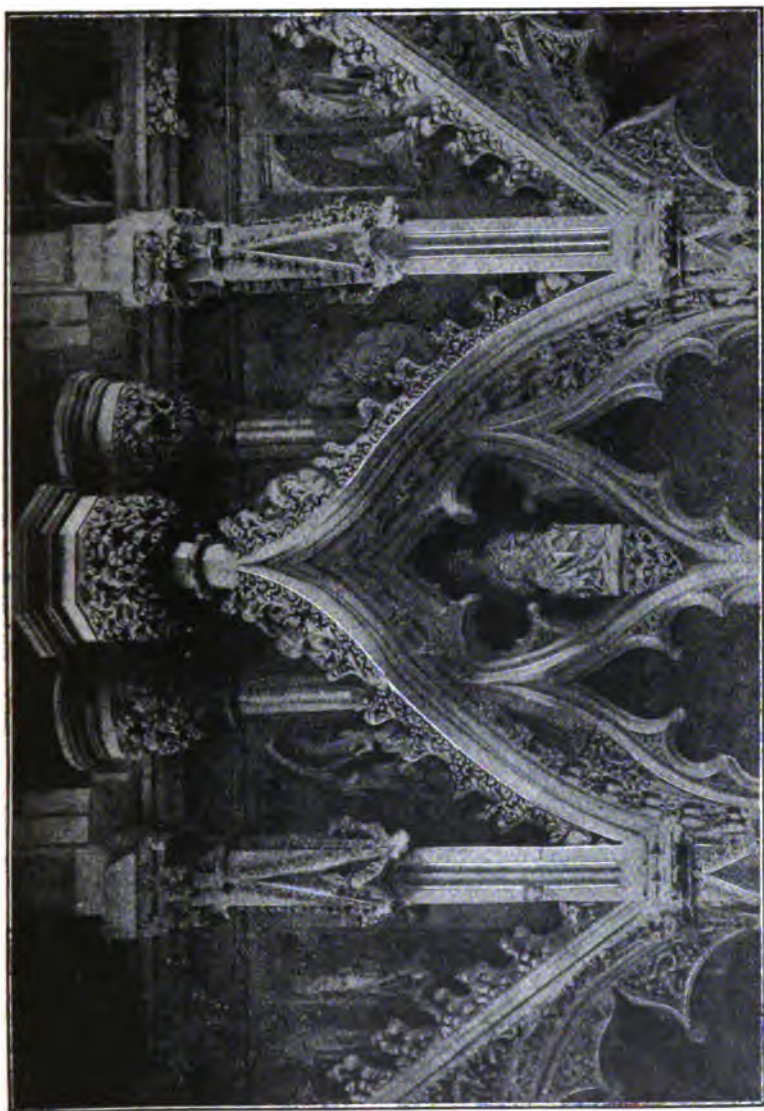
<sup>3</sup> V. M. R. James: *The Sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely*, Londres, 1895, illustrations photographiques de toutes les arcatures et de leurs ornements.

<sup>4</sup> V. Edward Blore: *The monumental remains of noble and eminent persons comprising the sepulchral antiquities of Great Britain*, Londres, 1826, in-4<sup>e</sup>, ouvrage non paginé.

<sup>5</sup> Prior: *Gothic Art*, p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.



C. Enlart, photo.

FIG. 9.—CATHÉDRALE D'ELY. ARÇATURES DE LA CHAPELLE DE LA VIERGE.

un riche et bon spécimen de l'art du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les arcatures du sarcophage sont redentées en accolade, ainsi que l'arcade principale du baldaquin, surmontée d'un fronton orné d'un trèfle aigu à contre-courbes, inscrit dans une triple accolade.<sup>1</sup>

La clôture à laquelle s'adosse le maître-autel de l'église



Ch. Goulding, photo.

FIG. 10.—COLLÉGIALE DE BEVERLEY. DÉTAIL DE JUBÉ.

collégiale de Beverley est datée par un ordre de paiement de Guillaume de Melton, archevêque d'York, à son receveur de Beverley, le 21 août 1334.<sup>2</sup> La face occidentale de cette clôture est modernisée, mais la face orientale subsiste sans altération, avec ses trois arcades portées sur des faisceaux de colonnettes surmontées de

<sup>1</sup> Edw. Blore, ouv. cité.

<sup>2</sup> V. John Bilson : *Beverley Minster Architectural Review*, 1898, p. 256.



niches creusées dans les sommiers. Les dais qui couronnent ces niches (fig. 10) ont des arcs en accolade.<sup>1</sup>

Après l'achèvement de cette clôture, le magnifique tombeau de lady Eleanor Percy (fig. 11) fut appuyé à son angle nord-ouest. Cette dame était morte en 1328 ; la fondation de l'obit célébré pour elle date de 1336 et la



Ch. Goulding, photo.

FIG. 11.—COLLÉGIALE DE BEVERLEY. TOMBE DE LADY ELEANOR PERCY.

tombe ne fut pas achevée avant 1340, comme l'indiquent les blasons écartelés de France et d'Angleterre, armes qu'Édouard III commença de porter à cette date.<sup>2</sup>

Le riche baldaquin de pierre de ce tombeau a des arcades en accolade dont l'intrados est festonné d'autres

<sup>1</sup> V. John Bilson : *Beverley Minster Architectural Review*, 1898, p. 256.

Les voûtes de ces trois travées ont des liernes et des tiercerons.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257 à 259.



petits arcs de même tracé. Des crochets de feuillage frisé ornent l'archivolte. La statuaire et les colonnettes indiquent nettement le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les arcatures qui ornent l'intérieur du mur du bas-côté nord de la nef au-dessous des fenêtres sont pareillement tracées en accolade, avec crochets et fleurons.<sup>1</sup> Or, nous savons que l'on faisait des quêtes pour cette nef dès 1308<sup>2</sup>; en 1313, la célébration était suspendue à l'autel de Saint-Nicolas jusqu'à l'achèvement du nouvel œuvre,<sup>3</sup> qui semble avoir été commencé vers 1320; il ne manquait guère que la façade lorsque la peste noire de 1349 arrêta les travaux.<sup>4</sup>

Hugues le Dépensier, mort en 1349, a son tombeau dans l'église de Tewkesbury (fig. 12). En face est la tombe, un peu plus récente, du second mari de sa veuve, Guy de Brienne. Dans les deux monuments, les gisants sont abrités sous des baldaquins de grêle architecture à plusieurs étages en retrait, et toutes les petites arcades qui soutiennent ces dais sont tracées en accolade. Les stalles de la cathédrale d'Exeter ont un couronnement de style identique<sup>5</sup>; elles datent de 1308 à 1327. A côté de ces monuments à dates précises, beaucoup d'autres moins bien datés allient l'emploi de l'accolade aux caractères les plus manifestes de l'art du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Tel est le riche et bizarre portail du cloître de Norwich, publié par M. Prior<sup>6</sup> comme un monument de 1297 et qui semble devoir être attribué plutôt, d'après le caractère de la statuaire et des ornements, à une date voisine de 1310. Les figurines de la voussure, sculptées normalement aux joints des claveaux et non selon l'usage parallèlement à la courbe de l'arc, s'encadrent sous des dais ou arcatures en accolade.

Tel est encore le portail bien connu qui donne accès du transept à la salle capitulaire de Rochester, que l'on s'accorde à considérer comme une œuvre du milieu du

<sup>1</sup> Voir T. Rickman : *An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England*, 6<sup>e</sup> éd., Londres, 1862, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Voir A. F. Leach : *Beverley Chapter Act Book* (Surtees Soc., 1898), I, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> V. John Bilson : mémoire cité, p. 254. T. Rickman : *ouv. cité*, p. 272, 281.

<sup>5</sup> Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> *English Mediaeval Figure Sculpture, Architectural Review*, février 1906, p. 86.



FIG. 12.—ÉGLISE DE TEWKESBURY. TOMBEAU DE HUGUES LE DÉPENSIER.

C. Enlart, photo.

XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>1</sup> Les petits arcs des dais de ses voussures sont tracés en accolade, comme l'archivolte du portail lui-même ; les colonnettes et quatrefeuilles des piédroits, les statues de l'Eglise et de la Synagogue, les petites têtes caricaturales semées sur le chambranle, les statuettes d'évangélistes et de prophètes de la voussure, toute la sculpture, en un mot, appartient bien au style du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

On peut citer, pour ses accolades accentuées et originales, l'intérieur de la tour sud-ouest de la cathédrale de Lincoln, antérieure à 1380.<sup>2</sup>

Beaucoup de fenêtres du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (fig. 13) ont des archivoltas à accolades.<sup>3</sup>

Vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les saints sépulcres, les stalles de pierre et les piscines richement ornés des sanctuaires de Heckington, Navenby (Lincolnshire) et Hawton (Nottinghamshire) ont des couronnements en accolade.<sup>4</sup>

Les arts mineurs vont de pair avec l'architecture pour cette démonstration : un diptyque d'ivoire anglais du Musée Britannique, que l'on croit fait pour Grandison, évêque d'Exeter de 1327 à 1369, se compose de petits bas-reliefs dans le meilleur style du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, encadrés d'accolades.<sup>5</sup>

Les stalles d'Exeter, de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Chichester et le jubé de bois de Sainte-Marguerite de Lynn ont des accolades.<sup>6</sup>

Les formes qui ont donné au style flamboyant son nom imagé sont les fenestragés à réseaux onduleux de *soufflets* et *mouchettes*. Ces formes (flowing tracery) se rencontrent, comme l'accolade dont elles dérivent, dans

<sup>1</sup> V. W. H. St. John Hope : *The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of Saint Andrew at Rochester*, Londres, 1900, in-8°. M. Hope propose la date de 1342. V. aussi G. P. Palmer : *The Cathedral Church of Rochester* (Bell's Cathedral series), et Prior, ouv. cité, décembre 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Bond, ouv. cité, p. 269.

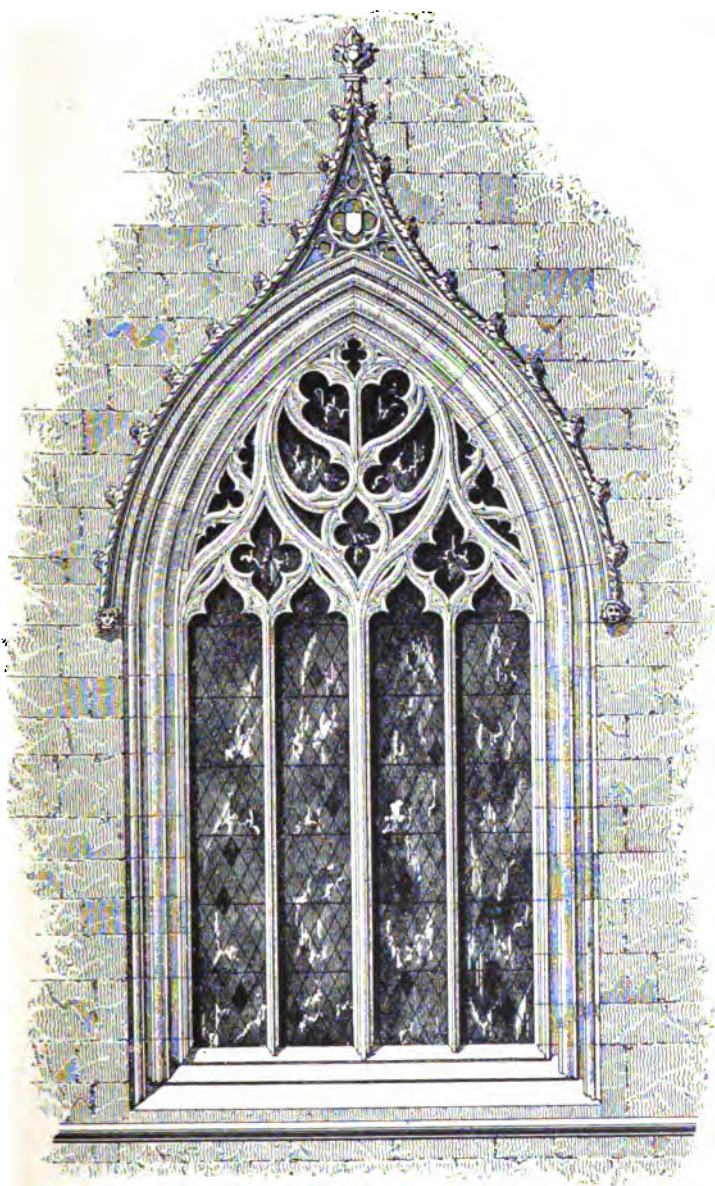
<sup>3</sup> Voici les exemples donnés par Sharpe dans son recueil de fenêtres de cette époque : *Decorated Window*

*Tracery in England*, pl. 34, Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire) ; pl. 58, Great Claybrook (Leicestershire) ; pl. 46, Nantwich (Cheshire), Wellingborough (Northamptonshire) et le chapitre de Wells où la disposition pourrait n'être pas primitive.

<sup>4</sup> Prior : *Sculpture, Architectural Review*, février 1905, p. 87-90.

<sup>5</sup> Prior : *Sculpture, Architectural Review*, février 1905, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 392-393.



Sharpe del.

FIG. 13.—ÉGLISE DE NANTWICH. FENÊTRE NORD DU CHŒUR.

l'architecture anglaise de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et ont été supprimées par l'avènement du style perpendiculaire.<sup>1</sup>

L'origine du soufflet et de la mouchette peut se déduire très clairement de l'évolution des fenestragés anglais.

Dans les bas-côtés de la nef de la cathédrale d'York, commencés en 1291, le tympan des fenêtres est garni d'une juxtaposition de quatrefeuilles non inscrits dans des cercles, dessin qui reproduit la disposition de fenestragés antérieurs de la cathédrale d'Amiens.

Ces quatre-feuilles laissent entre eux des triangles à côtés évidés. Or, dans les fenêtres des bas-côtés du chœur

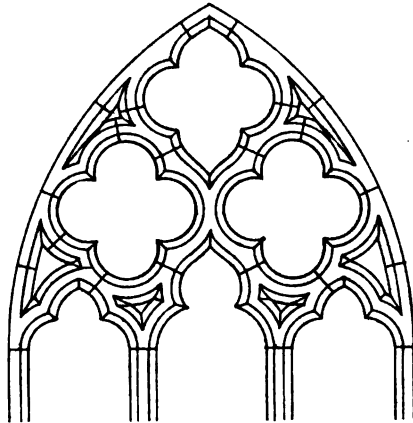


FIG. 14.—ÉGLISE DE HOWDEN. FENÊTRE LATÉRALE.

de l'église de Howden (fig. 14), qui datent des premières années du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, on a commencé à supprimer ces triangles en donnant le tracé de l'accolade à l'arcade et au lobe inférieur du trèfle qui occupent le centre du fenestragé.<sup>2</sup> Dans les fenêtres hautes du chœur, qui doit dater de 1310 à 1330, nous voyons l'évolution plus complète : les trois quatrefeuilles ont leurs lobes inférieur et supérieur en accolade et les arcs des trois formes obéissent au même tracé ; ainsi les triangles intermédiaires sont supprimés, les formes s'emboîtent, les trèfles se sont

<sup>1</sup> V. E. Sharpe : *Decorated Window Tracery in England*, Londres, 1849, in-4°, et Freeman : *Window Tracery*.

<sup>2</sup> Le lobe supérieur du quatrefeuille central épouse le tracé en tiers-point de

l'intrados de la fenêtre. La même modification de tracé s'applique à la même époque aux trèfles des fenestragés, à la cathédrale d'Exeter, par exemple.

transformés en *soufflets* et deux *mouchettes* sont engendrées par les courbes des accolades et de l'intrados de la fenêtre.<sup>1</sup>

Cette évolution, cette création du fenestrage flamboyant était réalisée très tôt, car nous la trouvons parfaitement accomplie dans les fenêtres d'un monument fort bien daté, le vestiaire de la chapelle du collège de Merton à Oxford, commencé en 1310.<sup>2</sup> Les moulures du chambranle et de l'archivolte sont encore les mêmes que

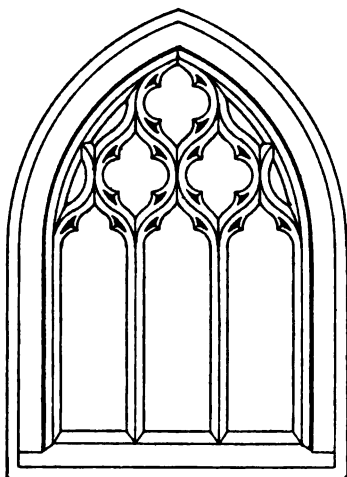


FIG. 15.—MERTON COLLEGE À OXFORD. FENÊTRE DU VESTIAIRE.

dans les fenêtres du chœur de la chapelle, consacré en 1277, mais le fenestrage, tout d'un même profil prismatique, avec ses trois formes en accolade et ses trois soufflets accostés de minuscules mouchettes, est complètement flamboyant (fig. 15).

On ne saurait objecter que les fenêtres du vestiaire d'Oxford ont pu être achevées lentement, car dans la

<sup>1</sup> Sur le chœur de Howden, v. Sharpe: *Architectural Parallels*, Londres, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Extrait des rôles du trésorier, 1310: "Item in stipendio. V. operariorum per. V. dies. III. s. IIII. d. videlicet ad fodiendum fundamentum vestiarii.

Item in stipendio unius operarii. VII. d. Item in stipendio fabri pro duobus centen. ferri fabricat. ad vestiarius. XV. s." (J. H. Parker: *The date of the introduction of the decorated style into England*, *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. II, p. 144.)

chapelle de la Vierge de la cathédrale de Saint-Albans,<sup>1</sup> que l'on sait avoir été terminée avant 1320, le fenestrage flamboyant existe tout aussi caractérisé, plus analogue même aux modèles français du siècle suivant par l'allongement plus grand des soufflets.<sup>2</sup>

Au même type appartiennent des fenestrages de l'église franciscaine de Reading (Berkshire), qui était en cours de construction en 1311.<sup>3</sup>

Bientôt, soufflets et mouchettes se contournent, se groupent en bouquets, varient à l'infini leurs combinaisons onduleuses, comme ils le feront en France beaucoup plus tard.

Je cite des monuments datés et je limite mon choix, car les exemples sont innombrables.

La petite chapelle du prieur, au sud de la cathédrale d'Ely, a de ces fenestrages et l'on sait qu'elle est l'œuvre du prieur Jean de Crawden (1321 à 1341).<sup>4</sup>

La grande fenêtre du chevet de l'église abbatiale de Selby<sup>5</sup> offre un tracé flamboyant (fig. 16). Nous savons que la reconstruction du chœur fut commencée vers 1280 et les fenêtres de la partie la plus ancienne des bas-côtés n'ont pas encore ce style, qui règne dans les autres baies hautes ou basses. Celle du chevet est un exemple précoce et certain, car elle garde toute sa vitrerie, et on y remarque l'écu d'Angleterre aux lions, tel que le portait Édouard III avant 1340.

La grande baie du chevet de la cathédrale de Carlisle<sup>6</sup> est un autre bel exemple qui semble dater du deuxième quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (fig. 17).

A Hull, nous trouvons des tracés flamboyants à l'église de la Trinité, tant dans la fenêtre du chevet que dans celles du bas-côté sud.<sup>7</sup> Les dates approximatives du monument sont données par des documents : legs pour

<sup>1</sup> V. James Neale : *The Abbey Church of Saint Albans*, Londres, 1877, pl. 4 et 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ce type de fenestrage, qu'en Angleterre on nomme *reticulé*, y est très commun au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, surtout dans le deuxième quart. (V. E. Sharpe, *ouv. cité*, p. 107, et J. M. Parker : *A Glossary of Terms of Architecture*, Oxford, 1850, in-8°, pl. 246 et suiv.)

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeological Journ.*, III, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Extrait des rôles du trésorier en 1325-6 : "In nova constructione capellæ et cameræ domini Prioris CXXXVIII li. VIII, s. v. d. In donis x. li. XIX, s. IIII. d. unde ad novam fabricam ecclesiæ et capellæ vi. li." (Stewart, p. 244.)

<sup>5</sup> E. Sharpe, *ouv. cité*, pl. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Sharpe, *ouv. cité*, pl. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 52.



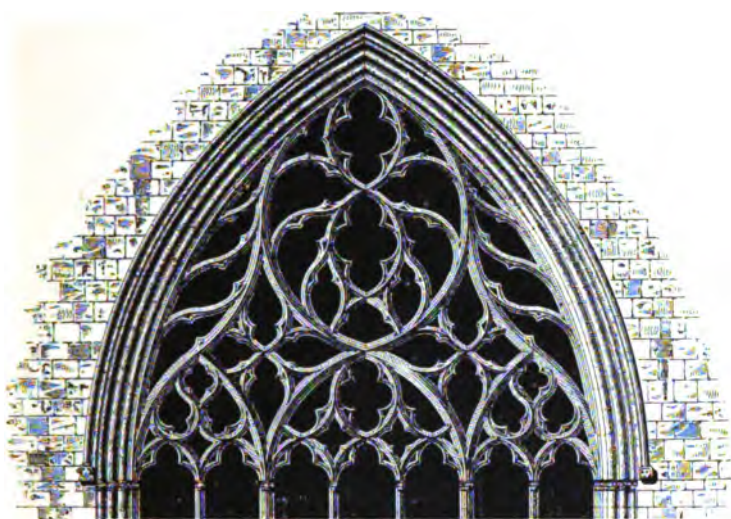


FIG. 16.—FENÊTRE DU CHEVET A SELBY. Sharpe del.

le maître-autel en 1346 ; inhumation en 1361 devant l'autel de la Vierge, à l'est de l'église, "in nova fabrica."<sup>1</sup>

L'église de Patrington offre une remarquable suite de fenêtres à réseaux flamboyants. Elle était terminée

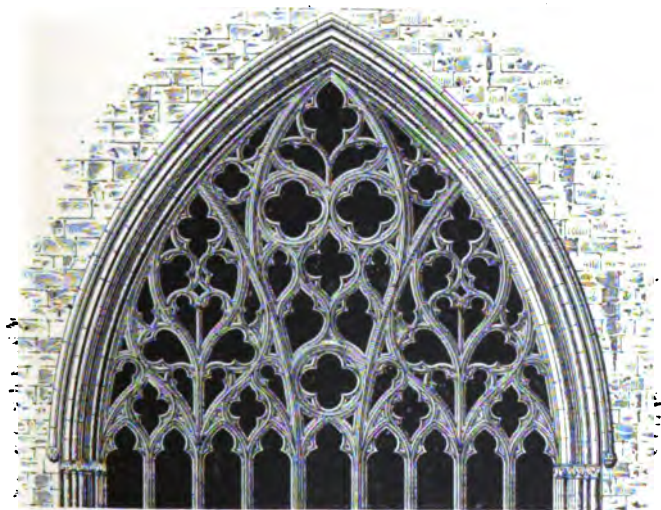


FIG. 17.—CATHÉDRALE DE CARLISLE. BAIE DU CHEVET. Sharpe del.

<sup>1</sup> Renseignements fournis par M. John Bilson.



avant la peste noire de 1349, à l'exception de la verrière du chevet.<sup>1</sup>

A Houghton-le-Dale (Norfolk), une chapelle construite vers 1350 pour les pèlerins de Notre-Dame de Walsingham présente une façade charmante, percée d'une grande fenêtre dont le tympan est un réseau de soufflets et mouchettes.<sup>2</sup>

Les fenestrages de ce genre abondent dans les églises nombreuses bâties dans le sud du comté de Lincoln durant le deuxième quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. La bonne qualité de la pierre a permis d'y réaliser des œuvres d'architecture et de sculpture soignées et remarquables, qui sont parmi les meilleures de ce temps.<sup>3</sup> On peut y ajouter quelques morceaux du même style dans le comté de Nottingham, comme le bas-côté sud de la nef de Newark et le chœur de Hawton.

Le jubé auquel s'appuie le maître-autel de Beverley et dont on a déjà signalé les voûtes à tiercerons et les niches à accolade a son mur de fond garni de fenestrages aveugles à soufflets et mouchettes (fig. 18) ; ces tracés étaient déjà exécutés, comme on l'a vu, en 1334.<sup>4</sup>

Ils sont à peu près identiques à ceux qui furent usités en France à partir de 1400 environ.

La nef de la cathédrale d'Exeter, bâtie entre 1308 et 1338,<sup>5</sup> a dans ses fenestrages des soufflets et des mouchettes. Le tracé est plus franchement flamboyant dans la grande baie de la façade de la cathédrale d'York (fig. 19), qui fut vitrée en 1338.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fide J. Bilson.

<sup>2</sup> V. A. Pugin et A. W. Pugin : *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, Londres, 1850, pl. 1 à 5. Le tracé de ce fenestrage marque déjà une tendance vers le style perpendiculaire.

<sup>3</sup> Les plus remarquables sont : Boston (Sharpe, pl. 47 ; Bond, pl. en regard de la p. 222), Sleaford (Sharpe, pl. 40, 41, 57), Heckington (Sharpe, pl. 38 et 39), Ewerby, Donington, en cours de construction en 1351, Helpringham, Claypole, Billingborough, Navenby, Frampton, Swaton, Algarkirk, Anwick, Leake, Kirton et Holbeach.

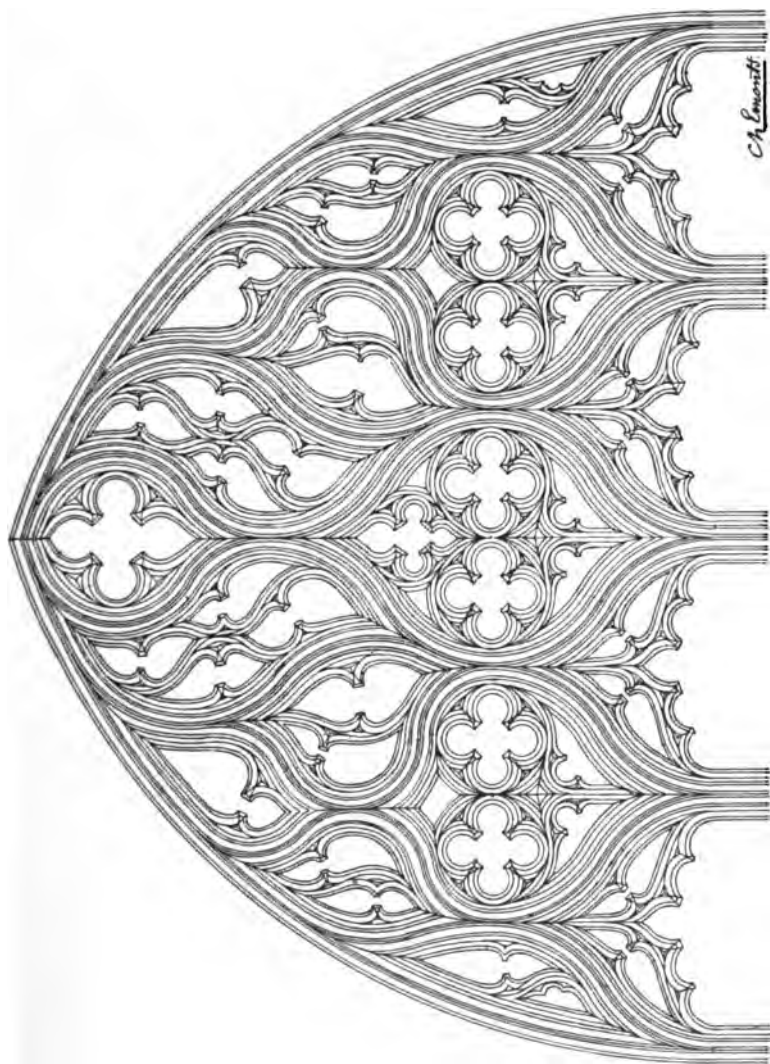
D'autres exemples de fenestrages flamboyants sont publiés par Sharpe : Sainte-Marie de Beverley, vers 1330 à 1340, p. 43, 44 ; Cottingham (Yorkshire), p. 45 ; Nantwich (Cheshire), p. 46, 48 ;

Yaxley (Huntingdonshire), p. 49 ; Houghton-le-Spring (Durham), p. 51 ; Ringstead (Northamptonshire), p. 53 ; Trent (Somersetshire), p. 54 ; Hedon (Yorkshire), p. 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup> V. ci-dessus, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> Par l'évêque Stapledon. Les vitres furent posées en 1317 et 1318 ; en 1328, on travaillait à la façade ; en 1338, on fit une commande de douze chênes qui durent être employés à la charpente de la nef (W. E. Lethaby : *Architectural Review*, mai 1903).

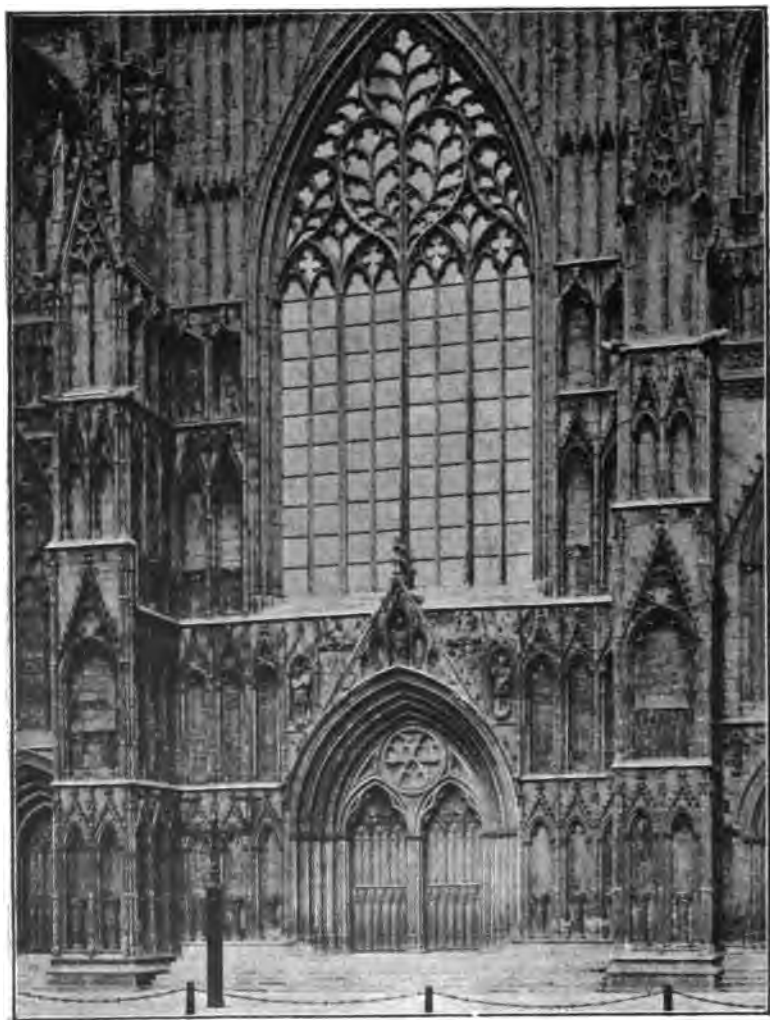
<sup>6</sup> Charte-partie entre Robert d'une part et de l'autre Thomas de Beneston, gardien de la fabrique. Le verre blanc devait être payé six pence le pied, le verre de couleur douze (Torre, ms., f° 3).



D'après Collinge.

FIG. 18.—COLLÉGIALE DE BEVERLEY. CLÔTURE DU CHŒUR.

Le style n'est pas moins complètement flamboyant dans la rose sud du transept de la cathédrale de Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> connue sous le nom d'*Œil de l'Évêque* (Bishop's



Duncan and Lewin, photo.

FIG. 19.—CATHÉDRALE D'YORK. FENÊTRE DE LA FAÇADE.

Eye), que l'on s'accorde à regarder comme une œuvre de 1340 environ. L'évêque qui la fit exécuter serait,

<sup>1</sup> V. Parker : *Glossary*, pl. 264.

selon Sharpe, Henry Burghersh, qui occupa le siège de 1320 à 1340.

La grande baie du chevet de la chapelle de la Vierge à la cathédrale d'Ely est-elle de 1345 environ, comme le veut M. Prior ?<sup>1</sup> Ou bien l'armature de pierre fut-elle exécutée en même temps que la verrière, payée en 1373-4<sup>2</sup> ?

Elle serait, pour cette dernière date, fort archaïque en Angleterre, quoiqu'elle tende déjà au tracé perpendiculaire ; en France, au contraire, elle serait encore plus précoce que les fenêtres de la chapelle Saint-Jean-Baptiste de la cathédrale d'Amiens. Déjà, à cette époque, le tracé perpendiculaire détrônait en Angleterre le tracé flamboyant,<sup>3</sup> qui, sauf dans les églises rurales, ne fut guère remis en usage après l'interruption générale des travaux qu'amena la peste noire de 1349.

Parmi les églises innombrables du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle anglais qui ont des fenestragés flamboyants à soufflets, mouchettes et accolades, je signalerai encore, comme datées avec précision : la nef de Beverley, bâtie de 1320 environ à la peste noire de 1349 ; l'église de Hingham (Norfolk), bâtie par un certain *Remagius*, qui en fut recteur de 1316 à 1359.<sup>4</sup>

Rien ne serait plus aisé que de multiplier ces exemples, et il y a loin de cette abondance et de cette constance des tracés flamboyants depuis 1310 aux quelques accolades timides et aux quelques mouchettes que l'on pourrait relever dans certains fenestragés français dès la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Il faut ajouter qu'un petit nombre seulement des fenestragés onduleux du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle anglais est identique aux fenestragés flamboyants français : ailleurs, ce sont les mêmes éléments combinés différemment. M. Fr. Bond

<sup>1</sup> Edw. S. Prior : *A History of Gothic Art in England*, Londres, 1900, in-4<sup>e</sup>, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacrist's Roll*, 1374-1375 : "De receptis de executoribus domini Johannis Barnet nuper episcopi Eliensis ad facturam ejusdam fenestree in capella beate Marie juxta magnum altare facte in anno precedente XX. li." (Stewart, p. 139.)

<sup>3</sup> Reprises de la nef de Winchester (1367 environ) ; transept de Gloucester, par l'abbé Wigmore (1331-1337) ; chœur de Gloucester, par les abbés Staunton et Horton (1337-1377). Ce chœur appartient pleinement au style perpendiculaire qu'annonçaient déjà les autres morceaux.

<sup>4</sup> Brandon, *Parish Churches*, 41.

distingue les fenestragés anglais de 1315 à 1360 en trois classes ; 1° fenestragé refendu en deux formes principales détachées de l'extrados de la baie et tracées généralement en accolade. Elles se subdivisent en petites formes (York, Hull, Exeter, Carlisle, Heckington, Hawton, Selby) ; avec grandes formes en tiers-point (Chipping-Norton, Thurnham, Plympton Sainte-Marie, Exeter, Saint-Sauveur d'York) ; 2° fenestragé refendu en deux grandes formes en tiers-point dont un segment est formé par l'intrados de la fenêtre (Wymington, Hull, Sainte-Marie-Redcliffe, à Bristol) ; 3° fenestragés non subdivisés en deux formes principales. Le type le plus usuel est le fenestragé réticulé qui prolonge les lignes des accolades jusqu'à l'intrados de la fenêtre, en créant un réseau de soufflets, et le tracé flamboyant qui allonge davantage la pointe de l'accolade des formes et incline à droite et à gauche les mouchettes encadrant un soufflet central. Seuls, ces deux derniers types ne se distinguent pas des modèles français du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le tracé réticulé se voit au collège de Merton, à Oxford, en 1310 ; au cloître de Westminster, à Little-Addington, à Frampton, à Bradwell, à Oulton (Suffolk) ; le tracé flamboyant à Salford, Chipping-Norton, Corton, Patrington, à la clôture du fond du sanctuaire de Beverley et dans celle de Sainte-Marguerite de Lynn, œuvre de menuiserie.<sup>1</sup>

Dans le deuxième quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, un très grand nombre d'églises rurales anglaises ont des fenêtres rectangulaires dont le linteau est soutenu sur un fenestragé qui forme une suite de petits arcs en accolade. On peut citer comme exemples de ce type usuel des fenêtres des églises de Benington et Leverton (Lincolnshire).<sup>2</sup>

Un autre caractère du style flamboyant est le chapiteau bas, rond ou polygonal, composé d'un simple corps de moulures ou garni d'une course de feuillage qui remplit la gorge que forme la corbeille déprimée.

L'architecture anglaise des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles a des chapiteaux ronds, dépourvus de sculpture, beaucoup plus souvent qu'en France. Dès la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à Wells,

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Bond : *Gothic Architecture*, p. 479 à 489 ; Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 342, 343, 377, 393.

<sup>2</sup> Relevés communiqués par Mr. John Bilson. D'autres exemples de ce type se voient dans Parker, *Glossary*, pl. 256-7.

par exemple, les feuillages des chapiteaux ont une tendance à se transformer de crochets en frise. Au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les chapiteaux d'un faisceau de colonnes se réunissent en un seul bouquet de feuillage : cette réunion forme un large chapiteau de proportions très basses et, dès 1290 ou 1300, sur le pilier central de la salle capitulaire de Wells,<sup>1</sup> nous voyons ce bouquet prendre les allures d'une frise où branches et feuillage forment une course horizontale continue, au lieu de remonter verticalement et par bouquets détachés comme en France ; au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce parti s'affirme plus nettement à Beverley<sup>2</sup> (fig. 20), à la chapelle de la Vierge d'Ely, dans le chœur de Selby,<sup>3</sup> à Patrington<sup>4</sup> ; dans ces deux



FIG. 20.—COLLÉGIALE DE BEVERLEY. CHAPITEAU D'ARCATURE.

derniers exemples, la masse transparente des feuillages ondulés et frisés couvre déjà de son tracé en quart de rond non plus seulement, comme au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le haut de la corbeille concave, mais sa totalité. C'est le type de chapiteau qu'adoptera la France un demi-siècle plus tard.

Quant aux pénétrations que forment souvent les moulures des arcs flamboyants dans un support ou piédroit sans chapiteaux, il est intéressant d'en citer en Angleterre des exemples précurseurs : dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,

<sup>1</sup> Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Prior : *Gothic Art*, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Bilson : *Beverley, Archit. Rev.*, 1898, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Bond : *Gothic Architecture*, p. 437.

au portail nord de Christchurch (Hampshire),<sup>1</sup> nous voyons six voussures venir pénétrer dans des fûts cylindriques absolument comme dans des monuments du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle français, avec cette différence toutefois que ces fûts ne sont que des tronçons de cylindres formant sommiers au-dessus des chapiteaux des colonnettes.<sup>2</sup> Peu après 1302, dans le tombeau de Guillaume de la Marche,



J. V. Saunders phot.

FIG. 21.—SAINTE-MARIE DE BEVERLEY. VOÛTE DU BAS-CÔTÉ NORD DU CHŒUR.

à Wells, les moulures des archivoltes forment avec les clochetons des pénétrations semblables à celles du style flamboyant (fig. 7). Vers 1330 à 1340,<sup>3</sup> au collatéral nord du sanctuaire de Sainte-Marie de Beverley, nous voyons (fig. 21) les arcs formerets qui surmontent les

<sup>1</sup> Figuré dans Prior: *Gothic Art*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> On trouve dès la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle des exemples de

cette disposition en Gascogne, dans les églises d'Uzeste et Guitres (Gironde) et Lodève (Hérault).

<sup>3</sup> V. ci-dessus, p. 75.

arcades former avec les ogives et les tiercerons des pénétrations et entre-croisements tout à fait conformes aux combinaisons si fort en honneur en France au siècle suivant, et ces arcs pénètrent et meurent dans les faces latérales planes des dossierers, absolument comme dans l'architecture flamboyante.

Il est à remarquer que ce bas-côté (fig. 22) offre tous les caractères de celle-ci dans ses voûtes, dans leurs retombées, dans ses fenestrages et dans ses supports qui, d'un côté, ont des chapiteaux ronds et bas à simples moulures ou à feuillages frisés, et de l'autre ne sont qu'un faisceau de moulures sans chapiteaux, prolongeant jusqu'au sol les profils des arcs des voûtes.

Des supports sans chapiteaux existent en Angleterre dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le porche de la salle capitulaire de Chester, mais comme peu après il s'en rencontré aussi à Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, à Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay et dans la cathédrale d'Upsal, commencée par Étienne de Bonneuil et ses compagnons français, ainsi qu'aux porches de Saint-Urbain de Troyes, je n'insiste pas sur ce caractère. Je laisserai également de côté les bases, malgré l'analogie de la base flamboyante avec certaines bases anglaises du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>1</sup> puisque l'on peut trouver, sans sortir de France, tous les éléments de l'évolution qui aboutit à cette dernière base gothique.<sup>2</sup>

Ne voulant apporter que des arguments certains et jugeant ma thèse suffisamment démontrée par ce qui précède, je n'insisterai pas non plus, je l'ai dit, sur les profils de moulures ; remarquons cependant que la mouluration romane anglaise est singulièrement plus précoce que la nôtre et que, dès le début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sinon dès la fin du XII<sup>e</sup>, dans des édifices tels que les cathédrales de Wells et de Chichester, on trouve des corps de moulures bien plus compliqués qu'en France et où la préoccupation d'opposer des courbes aux contre-courbes apparaît beaucoup plus tôt que chez nous. Mais, quoique l'Angleterre précède encore ici manifestement la France, rien ne prouve que, dans les moulures, la France ne serait pas arrivée au même point d'évolution au XV<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Fr. Bond, *ouv. cité*, pp. 448, 693, 697 ; v. aussi les bases de l'église Sainte Marie à Beverley.

<sup>2</sup> V. Berty : *Annuaire de l'archéologie française*, 1862.





Dr. E. H. Howlett, phot.

FIG. 22.—SAINTE-MARIE DE BEVERLEY. BAS-CÔTÉ NORD DU CHŒUR.

siècle sans les exemples anglais, c'est pourquoi je renonce à l'étude de ce point spécial.

On peut, de même, se demander si le goût des arcs à tracés surbaissés, si frappants dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la cathédrale de Salisbury, le déambulatoire de Tewkesbury et autres édifices et, en 1360, à Gloucester, a ou n'a pas inspiré la même tendance à notre style flamboyant, car les tracés de ces arcs déprimés ne sont pas les mêmes.

Les preuves que j'ai données de l'origine anglaise du style flamboyant sont trop manifestes et s'appuient sur trop d'exemples pour qu'il faille chercher à les renforcer de présomptions moins bien établies.

De tout temps, le contact des peuples a produit des échanges d'art comme des échanges de denrées ; à l'époque romane, les croisades et surtout les pèlerinages ont permis aux occidentaux de trouver dans l'art alors supérieur de l'empire byzantin des modèles qui ont vivifié l'art roman ; à son tour, l'art gothique français a pénétré la chrétienté tout entière ; les arts de l'Italie ont été importés ou exportés plus que ceux de toute autre nation ; elle a adopté l'art grec, puis répandu dans tout l'empire l'art gréco-romain ; au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'école bourguignonne et l'école normande ont bénéficié d'apports d'art lombard, grâce aux abbés Guillaume et Laufranc ; au XII<sup>e</sup>, les Clunistes, au XIII<sup>e</sup>, les Cisterciens, importent à leur tour l'art français dans la Péninsule ; au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'art germanique pénètre à Milan, mais bientôt, avec la Renaissance, l'art italien conquiert toute la chrétienté.

L'Allemagne a moins donné et moins reçu ; cependant, l'art germanique roman a influencé les Flandres, la Champagne, la Lorraine et la vallée du Rhône, et l'art gothique français a pris ensuite en Allemagne une éclatante revanche.

L'Espagne a presque tout reçu de la France et a attendu l'avènement des Jésuites pour répandre par tout le monde son style le moins heureux.

Pourquoi l'Angleterre, qui a reçu de Normandie son style roman et de l'Ile de France, de la Champagne, de la Bourgogne ou de la Normandie ses premiers modèles gothiques, n'aurait-elle fait que garder pour elle, sans jamais la faire accepter par ses voisins, une part de ses

créations d'art ? Le phénomène serait exceptionnel et invraisemblable, et, en fait, il ne s'est pas produit.

Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'influence anglaise existe en Espagne : à Léon, la statue tombale du roi Ordoño II tire l'épée ; une statue tombale de l'abbaye de Roncevaux (qui avait des possessions à Londres) a les jambes croisées, de même qu'une autre statue tombale conservée au musée de Perpignan. Ces deux gestes sont spéciaux aux statues funéraires anglaises. Dans l'île de Chypre, à l'abbaye de Lapaïs, qui fut bâtie vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les chapiteaux du cloître et du dortoir n'ont pas le type français à deux rangs de bouquets de feuillage, mais le type anglais, en masses de feuillage de profil convexe, et les salles basses sous le réfectoire sont tellement identiques à la salle basse de l'ancien hôpital d'York qu'une communauté d'origine est l'évidence même.

Il serait sans exemple que des conquérants n'aient importé aucune mode artistique lorsqu'ils ont occupé quelque temps et en nombre un pays. D'ailleurs, une preuve irréfutable des rapports artistiques de la France avec l'Angleterre au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle n'est-elle pas dans la prodigieuse quantité de sculptures d'albâtre anglais, principalement de l'école de Nottingham, qui furent alors importées dans toute la France ?<sup>1</sup>

Au XV<sup>e</sup> ou XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle quand les Anglais étaient bel et bien chassés de France, sans parler de la ville de Calais qui continuait de leur appartenir, un reflet de leur art s'est manifesté parfois dans nos provinces du nord : On pourrait ajouter quelque peu à la liste admise par M. Anthyme Saint Paul des monuments français qui ont subi l'influence anglaise : peut-être, dès avant l'invasion, la voûte du carré du transept de la cathédrale d'Amiens et les fenestrages des chapelles de sa nef, que coupe horizontalement une arcature, concourraient-ils à

<sup>1</sup> L'origine de ces albâtres a été longtemps inconnue chez nous. Gay les fait venir de Saint-Claude (*Glossaire archéologique*, p. 1) ; le regretté abbé Bouillet, en tentant d'en faire un récollement (*Bulletin Monumental*, 1901), ne s'est pas prononcé sur leur provenance. Mais elle est indéniable, comme l'attestent les tombes d'albâtre de l'Angleterre, maintes autres sculptures et maintes pièces d'archives (v. W. H.

Saint-John Hope : *On the Early Working of Alabaster in England*, *Archæological Journal*, t. 61. p. 221 (1904), et, *On the Sculptured Alabaster Tablets called Saint-John's Heads*, *Archæologia*, t. 52 (1891). *The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture* dans le *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. VI, 3rd series, pp. 259-269, 289-319, 345-349.

témoigner que les maîtres de l'œuvre n'ignoraient pas les modes d'outre-Manche ; en tous cas, vers 1500, les églises de Saint Martin d'Ardinghem et de Dourier (Pas de Calais) ont des fenestragés coupés horizontalement par des traverses, qui peuvent être d'inspiration anglaise, et pour la seconde de ces églises, construite en 1505, une description du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup> dit formellement que les sieurs de Créqui l'ont fait bâtir selon le beau dessin qu'ils avoient rapporté d'Angleterre."

On sait aussi qu'au XV<sup>e</sup> peut-être et certainement au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle la Flandre a adopté *l'arc Tudor*.

Pourquoi donc l'art de l'Angleterre aurait-il été sans influence chez nous au moment où les Anglais occupaient la capitale et la majeure partie du territoire de la France ? Personne ne nie que les guerres d'Italie, bien plus courtes et de moindre portée, aient singulièrement favorisé plus tard la diffusion des modèles de la Renaissance ; pourquoi donc, lorsque les formes du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle anglais se reproduisent en France au XV<sup>e</sup>, au moment où l'Angleterre s'est presque annexé notre pays, refuserait-on de voir dans ce fait une influence anglaise ? L'influence est d'autant plus certaine que les formes arbitraires du style flamboyant ne sont certes pas de celles où conduisent l'instinct et le raisonnement. Liernes et tiercerons, accolades, soufflets et mouchettes sont, à tout prendre, des caprices décoratifs qui n'ont pas dû tous s'inventer deux fois sans que les peuples voisins qui les ont adoptés se soient donné le mot.

Si j'ai trop insisté sur des évidences, c'est que je suis surpris que ces constatations n'aient pas toutes été faites dès longtemps et, du fait qu'elles ne l'ont pas été, on peut déduire combien il est nécessaire à nos études de pousser les investigations au delà des frontières.

C'est ce que nous négligeons trop parfois en France, surtout pour l'Angleterre. Ainsi, pour étudier les origines de la structure gothique, on a discuté bien des années sans tenir compte des voûtes de Durham et autres exemples très anciens d'arcs-ogives révélés depuis peu à la France par M. John Bilson<sup>2</sup> ; pendant de longues

<sup>1</sup> Voir Baron A. de Calonne, *Dictionnaire historique du Pas de Calais, Arrondissement de Montreuil*, Arras, 1879, in-8°, art. *Dourier*.

<sup>2</sup> *Les premières croisées d'ogives de l'Angleterre*, *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1901.

années, on a pu signaler, reproduire, collectionner, même inventorier les albâtres sculptés anglais du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui abondent chez nous, sans soupçonner leur origine; et, hier encore, un de nos maîtres refusait de croire à l'origine anglaise du style flamboyant.

D'autres ignorances se constateraient peut-être de l'autre côté de la Manche, aussi une entente cordiale des archéologues de ses deux rives doit-elle être féconde et désirable. Pour ma part, je n'aurais pu faire ce mémoire ce qu'il est sans l'amicale obligeance de mes confrères anglais, et ce m'est un agréable devoir de remercier ici très cordialement ceux qui ont secondé mes recherches, vérifié et complété les exemples et les dates sur lesquels repose ma démonstration et m'en ont fourni l'illustration. J'exprime donc ma plus sincère gratitude à M. C. R. Peers, à M. Bond, auteur d'un magistral ouvrage sur l'art gothique anglais, à M. Prior, qui nous a révélé la sculpture de son pays, à M. J. V. Saunders, au Dr. E. H. Howlett et à M. Ch. Goulding, qui ont bien voulu faire tout exprès pour ces pages plusieurs photographies d'exemples importants, enfin et surtout à la sûre érudition et à l'excellente amitié de M. John Bilson.

## NOTES ON FONTS.<sup>1</sup>

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### A. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON LEADEN FONTS.

### B. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON FONTS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

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By ALFRED C. FRYER, Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A.

### A. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON LEADEN FONTS.

Since my paper on "Leaden Fonts" was printed in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1900<sup>2</sup> two more leaden fonts have to be recorded, and notice of one which has now disappeared must also be appended.

In the year 1898, the Rev. B. J. S. Kerby was instituted Vicar of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Penn, in Buckinghamshire. The font was coated over with colour and believed to be constructed of stone, but one day the vicar tapped it with his knuckle and it appeared to him that it did not sound like stone. So he applied his knife, discovered it was a leaden bowl, and had it cleaned and restored to its present condition. (Plate I.)

This circular bowl<sup>3</sup> is quite plain and is scratched all over with initials and dates, the earliest of which is 1625. It stands on a low pillar<sup>4</sup> having a round base,<sup>5</sup> and this rests on a circular platform of 1 foot 3 inches in height with a circumference of 7 feet 6½ inches.

It was Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., who first drew my attention to a rectangular leaden vessel standing on the lawn of Greatham House, near Pulborough, in Sussex. This vessel is constructed of sheet lead about

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Meeting of the Institute, on the 2nd May, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, Vol. LVII (Second Series VII), 1900.

<sup>3</sup> External depth of bowl = 1 foot. Internal depth = 8½ inches. Rim =

3 inches. Internal diameter = 1 foot 8½ inches.

<sup>4</sup> The pillar = 5½ inches in height having a circumference of 3 feet 8 inches.

<sup>5</sup> The base is 6½ inches in depth with a circumference of 4 feet 6 inches.

$\frac{1}{4}$  inch in thickness, and the top measures 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 7 inches, having a depth of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches outside. There is a little foot at each corner, and in the middle of two opposite sides are indications of where the lock and hinge for a cover have been placed. There are many scratches on the outside, which has recently been painted



PLATE I.—LEADEN FONT, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, PENN, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

white by the owner of Greatham House ; and in the centre of three of the faces may be found a small raised circle having a diameter of  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches. The leaden vessel stands on a stem<sup>1</sup> possessing a round capital<sup>2</sup> and a square base.<sup>3</sup> (Plate II.)

<sup>1</sup> The stem is  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height having a circumference of 2 feet 10 inches.

<sup>2</sup> The round capital is 3 inches in

depth possessing a circumference of 5 feet 2 inches.

<sup>3</sup> The base or plinth is 1 foot 2 inches square by 6 inches in depth.

At the present time this vessel is being used as a flower-pot ; but it is not unlikely that it was the ancient font of Greatham Church. The church was restored about forty years ago and glories in a brand new font. The old font was discarded at the restoration, and, as the lawn of Greatham House adjoins the churchyard, it was doubtless placed there for preservation. At first it was conjectured



PLATE II.—LEADEN FONT, GREATHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

that this leaden vessel might be the lead-lining of a stone font, but it is scarcely likely that a lead-lining would have raised circles as ornamentation upon three of the sides.

In the year 1828 there existed a leaden font in the church at Leigh, in Surrey, for a writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>1</sup> of that date remarks that in this church

<sup>1</sup> See *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1828, Part I, p. 489.



"the font is a large stone, surmounted by a leaden reservoir." Since this was written the leaden font in Leigh Church has disappeared and been replaced by a stone one.

I venture to take this opportunity of correcting an error which unfortunately appeared in my paper on "Leaden Fonts"<sup>1</sup> respecting the one in the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Burghill, in Herefordshire. (Plate III, figs. 1 and 2.) In the early years of last



PLATE III. FIG. 1.—LEADEN FONT, BURGHILL CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.

century the tower of this church gave way<sup>2</sup> and seriously crushed and damaged the font, which was removed to the vestry for safety. In the year 1880 the font was restored<sup>3</sup> by the late Lord Saye and Sele, Archdeacon of

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, Vol. LVII (Second Series, VII), 1900, pp. 45-46.

<sup>2</sup> The tower was rebuilt in 1812.

<sup>3</sup> The leaden bowl has a circumference of 67 inches, and the border (4½ inches in depth) consists of a flowing scroll pattern. The bowl is placed on the ancient stone pedestal

consisting of thirteen niches containing mutilated figures. One has a nimbus and is doubtless intended for our Lord, and the other figures for His twelve apostles. The external depth of the bowl is 13 inches, and the internal depth is 9½ inches.

Hereford. While endeavouring to straighten the lead it was found to be so thin that the lower ornamental portion was lost. So the font was relined and strengthened on the outside by the present moulding.

The museums of Gloucester, Maidstone, and Lewes each possess a small leaden vessel, and it has been claimed by some writers that these are fonts, but it is very problematical if they were ever used for the baptismal rite.

The one in Lewes Castle is a rectangular vessel, 14 inches long by 8 inches high. It had iron handles, of



PLATE III. FIG. 2.—THE SAME, ENLARGED.

which parts remain, and it is ornamented with rows of dots, while the front is adorned with a triangle containing a pattern and a small cross. The leaden vessel in Maidstone Museum is somewhat dilapidated. It is circular in shape, and was found in the Medway. It has a diameter of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. The rim is half an inch wide, and is supported by twelve flanges. At each of two opposite points in the rim are two flanges which meet at right angles. This arrangement is intended to support an arched handle which was inserted at three points. The spaces between the flanges are decorated in

low relief with an ornament of graceful foliage.<sup>1</sup> The leaden vessel in Gloucester Museum is considered to be thirteenth century workmanship, and was found at the old Woodchester Church in Gloucestershire. The bottom is a circular disc of lead, and on this are placed four sheets of lead, thus giving the vessel a rectangular shape at the top of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches square. The circular base has a diameter of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and the vessel is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. The four sides bear impressions from the same mould. These give us the emblems of the Crucifixion with the heads of Pontius Pilate and the High Priest, while below is the dead Christ on the knees of the Blessed Virgin Mary. His head and feet are supported by two kneeling figures which are doubtless intended for St. John and St. Mary Magdalen. The panel is surrounded by an elegant border of trailing vine leaves.

Some years ago Mr. C. Roach Smith described another leaden vessel, found at Felixstowe, which, he considered, belonged to the tenth century. "It had lost its rim, but seems to have retained some traces of two or three flanges. It was 6 inches high, 31 inches in circumference, and had an iron handle. There were but four ornaments on its exterior, each of which represented a stiff-stalked plant with leaves and flowers at its base, having also two branches each, like the central stem, ending in three leaves."<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to surmise what was the use originally made of these four small leaden vessels. The one from Woodchester is thought to have been a lavabo for washing the priest's hands at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The others may have been for a similar purpose. At any rate, they were portable, having handles. Were they Holy Water stoups, or is it possible that they were salt-cellar<sup>3</sup>?

#### B. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON FONTS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

Since my paper on "Fonts with representations of the Seven Sacraments" appeared in the *Archaeological*

<sup>1</sup> See *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. XII, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Three small leaden vessels are illus-

trated in a paper on "English Lead Fonts" by Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., in the *Architectural Review*, Vol. XIX, pp. 99-100 (March, 1906).

*Journal*,<sup>1</sup> another font belonging to this series has been recorded. This font stands in the interesting church of St. Nicolas at Denston, in Suffolk, and my attention was drawn to it by Mr. V. B. Redstone. (Plate IV.)

The bowl<sup>2</sup> is octagonal like all the others belonging to this class, and it is supported<sup>3</sup> by eight half angels having



PLATE IV.—FONT IN THE CHURCH OF ST. NICOLAS, DENSTON, SUFFOLK.

their wings extended and their hands clasped or placed on their breasts. The pillar<sup>4</sup> is adorned with eight shallow trefoil-headed niches. The square plinth<sup>5</sup> upon which the pillar rests is modern.

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, Vol. LIX (Second Series, Vol. IX), 1902, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bowl and chamfer = 1 foot 11 inches (bowl = 1 foot 2½ inches, chamfer = 8½ inches). Rim = 4 inches. Interior depth of bowl = 1 foot 2 inches.

Diameter of interior of bowl = 1 foot 11 inches.

<sup>3</sup> The chamfer = 8½ inches.

<sup>4</sup> The pillar = 1 foot 1½ inches, with a base of 7½ inches.

<sup>5</sup> The plinth is 2 feet 4 inches square × 3½ inches in depth.

The heads of the sculptured figures in the eight panels<sup>1</sup> are sadly mutilated, and each panel has rays of glory behind the carving emanating from the centre. This same peculiarity is found on the fonts at Great Glemham and Woodbridge, which are also in the county of Suffolk.

The eighth panel represents the Crucifixion, and on either side of the crucified Saviour, which is sadly mutilated, stands the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist.

The seven sacraments are not arranged in their correct order and reckoning from the eighth panel we have Ordination, Matrimony, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, the Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction. The sculptor has placed Baptism and Extreme Unction on the opposite side as if to indicate that they were the first and last of the sacraments to be received.

Baptism is denoted by a fifteenth-century octagonal font standing on two steps, and having the bowl adorned with quatre-foils and the pillar with shallow niches. The priest stands behind the font and is vested in surplice and stole, and he is reading from an open book held by an acolyte vested in a surplice with long sleeves. The god-parents are a man and a woman. The man is dressed in a long gown and he holds a round cap in one hand, while the woman carries the infant candidate for baptism. The butterfly head-dress of the godmother indicates that the font dates back to the latter years of the fifteenth century.

In the panel representing the rite of Confirmation we find a bishop, vested in cope and mitre, holding a book, while a woman dressed in a gown with long sleeves carries the infant candidate.

Penance is portrayed by a priest who is vested in surplice and stole and seated in a panelled pew. A woman kneels before him, and two other penitents—a man and a woman—approach the confessional. The woman is dressed in a gown with sleeves and a tight-fitting bodice.

In the panel for the Holy Eucharist we find an altar with a chalice placed upon it. There are no candlesticks or cross upon the altar, and the priest, who is vested in alb and stole, is communicating a man and a woman.

<sup>1</sup> Each panel = 10½ inches × 8 inches.

The man is dressed in a long gown, and the woman has a tight-fitting bodice and a butterfly head-dress. A server, vested in a surplice, kneels near the altar.

A priest is uniting the hands of a man and a woman in the panel for matrimony; and a bishop is ordaining a candidate for the sacred ministry in the sculpture depicting the rite of Ordination. Extreme Unction shows a dying man in his bed. The coverlet is turned down and the priest, vested in surplice and stole, is anointing him. The acolyte, vested in a long surplice, holds some object which may be either the open ritual or the casket of oil. The bed of the dying man has presented some difficulty to the sculptor, who has depicted it raised up and placed at an angle of about forty-five degrees.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY EAST-ENDS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S,  
CANTERBURY, AND ST. MARY'S, YORK.<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.

The relations between the architecture of Normandy and England during the period immediately following the Norman Conquest were of so intimate a character that it is impossible adequately to study the one without the other. Architectural influence from Normandy had indeed been felt in England during the reign of Edward the Confessor, but when the Conqueror had made himself master in his new kingdom, cathedral and abbey churches were rebuilt on a scale hitherto unknown either in Normandy or England. Indeed there is reason to believe that, at the close of the eleventh century, England, rather than Normandy, had become the true *foyer* of the Norman school.

The recovery of the plans of any of these great churches must therefore be a matter of considerable advantage to architectural archaeology. Recent excavations have made known to us the plans of the chevets of the churches of two very important Benedictine abbeys in England, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Mary's, York, both of which were constructed between the Norman Conquest of England and the end of the eleventh century. Their plans illustrate two types of eastern termination which were adopted for the greater churches of England at this time. At St. Mary's, York, the aisles or chapels which flank the apsidal choir stop at the springing of the major apse. St. Augustine's, Canterbury, on the other hand, was planned with an ambulatory and radiating chapels.

I propose to notice here such of the remains of the eleventh century as have been discovered in the recent

<sup>1</sup> This paper, which was written for the *Société française d'archéologie*, was printed in the form of a translation by M. Emile Travers, the *directeur-adjoint* of the Society, in the *Bulletin*

*Monumental*, LXIX, pp. 209-223 (1905), and is published here with the consent of the *directeur*, M. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis.

excavations on the sites of these two churches. On the accompanying plans,<sup>1</sup> walls and foundations of the eleventh century which have been uncovered are shown black, while conjectural parts of this period are hatched. Some later alterations have been suppressed in the plans.

### ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY.

The abbey of SS. Peter and Paul (which in later times became known as the abbey of St. Augustine<sup>2</sup>) was founded outside the walls of Canterbury by Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, who was sent on a mission to England by Pope Gregory I. in 597, and who died between 604 and 610.<sup>3</sup> A chapel dedicated to the Virgin was built to the east of the abbey church between 616 and 618 by Eadbald, the son of Æthelbert. To the south-east was built the chapel of St. Pancras, probably by Augustine himself.<sup>4</sup> Abbot Wulfric, who died in 1059, took down the west part of the oratory of the Virgin, and the east end of the abbey church, and began to build between the two.<sup>5</sup> The building was stopped by his death, and remained unfinished when Scotland (*natione Normannus*<sup>6</sup>) became abbot in 1070. Scotland at once set about rebuilding the church on a larger scale. He pulled down the unfinished work of Wulfric, and, after having translated the relics of all those buried in the oratory of the Virgin, he built on its site a crypt dedicated to the Virgin, over which he erected the

<sup>1</sup> I owe these two plans to the kindness of two of my friends, that of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, to Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., and that of St. Mary's, York, to Mr. W. H. Brierley, F.S.A., who superintended the excavations.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with Christ Church, the cathedral.

<sup>3</sup> [Augustinus] "fecit autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa civitate ad orientem, in quo, ejus hortatu, Aedilbert ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli a fundamentis construxit, ac diversis donis ditavit, in qua et ipsius Augustini, et omnium episcoporum Doruvernensium, simul et regum Cantiae poni corpora possent. Quam tamen ecclesiam non ipse

Augustinus, sed successor ejus Laurentius consecravit." *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. I, cap. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> The remains of the chapel of St. Pancras were investigated in 1900. They are fully described and illustrated in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXV, 222, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., to whom I am indebted for much information.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronica Gul. Thorn de rebus gestis abbatum Sancti Augustini Cantuarias* (in Twysden's *Historias Anglicanas Scriptores Decem*, London, 1652), cap. vi, § 7. The chronicle written by William Thorne, who was a monk of the abbey, extends down to 1397.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. vii, § 1.



shrines of St. Augustine and his fellows.<sup>1</sup> As we are told that Abbot Scotland previously went to Rome and obtained the consent of Pope Alexander II. to his proposed rebuilding and translation of the relics,<sup>2</sup> we may presume that the work was commenced between his election in 1070 and the death of the Pope in 1073. Before his death in 1087, Abbot Scotland had finished the new work from the oratory of the Virgin as far as the "porticus" of St. Augustine. The church was completed by his successor, Wydo, who died in 1091.<sup>3</sup>

In 1900 a field which included a large part of the site of the abbey buildings was purchased by a committee of archaeologists, and after investigating the remains of the chapel of St. Pancras, excavations were commenced which have resulted in the discovery of the lower parts of the walls of the choir and transept of the church built by Abbot Scotland, and completed by his successor, as well as some considerable remains of the conventual buildings.<sup>4</sup>

The plan of the church comprised an apsidal choir, with ambulatory and three radiating chapels, beneath all of which extended a crypt; a transept, with a single apsidal chapel on the east side of each arm; and a nave with aisles, which seems to have been twelve bays in length, including the two western towers.<sup>5</sup>

The walls of the crypt were found to be standing to a considerable height in some places, especially on the

<sup>1</sup> "In eodem loco cripta beatae virginis construitur, et super ipsam criptam thalamus sancti Augustini cum suis sociis transferendis et principum apostolorum domus cacuminatur sicuti nunc apparet. Perfecit autem Abbas Scotlandus ipsum opus novum incipiendo a supradicto virginis oratorio usque ad porticum sancti Augustini in qua antiquitus quiescebat. Verum ipsum Scotlandum ulterius in opus procedere mors obvia prohibebat. Cujus tamen successor Wydo tam in ecclesiae fabrica consummanda quam in sanctis transferendis quod ipse dimiserat strenuissime adimplevit." *Ibid.*, cap. vii, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. vii, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> "Anno Domini M.lxxxix Wydo hanc ecclesiam dignitate pastoralis gubernans ecclesiam suam quam prae-

decessor suus Scotlandus morte prohibente ad summum perficeret non potuit foeliciter consummavit et de transferendis sanctis efficaciter elaboravit." *Ibid.*, cap. viii, § 3.

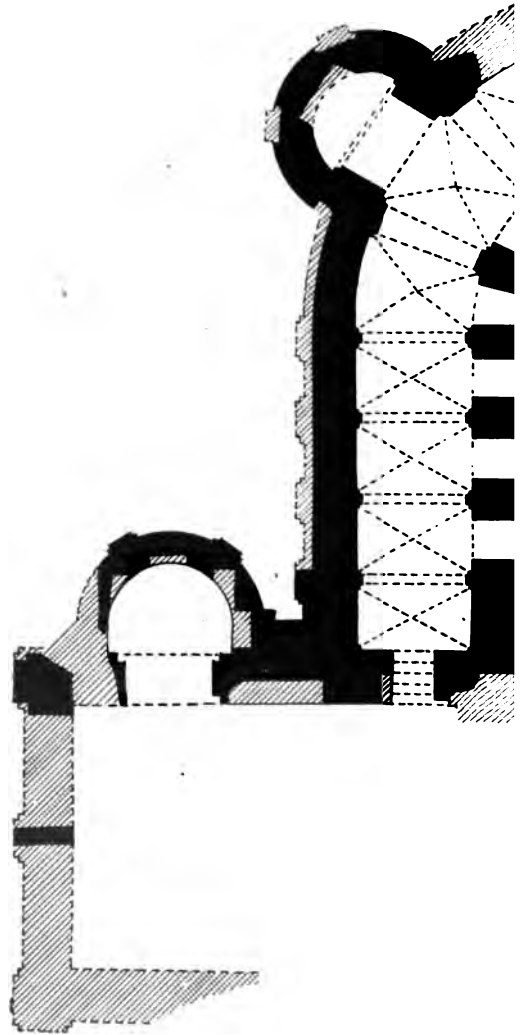
<sup>4</sup> For a full description of these excavations, see a paper by Mr. Sebastian Evans, jun., in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXVI, 1. Some further remains of the conventual buildings have been discovered since Mr. Evans' paper was written.

<sup>5</sup> The site of the nave has not yet been excavated, but some remains of the wall of the north aisle are standing above ground. The aisle was covered with groined (unribbed) vaulting. See *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. VI (3rd series), 291.



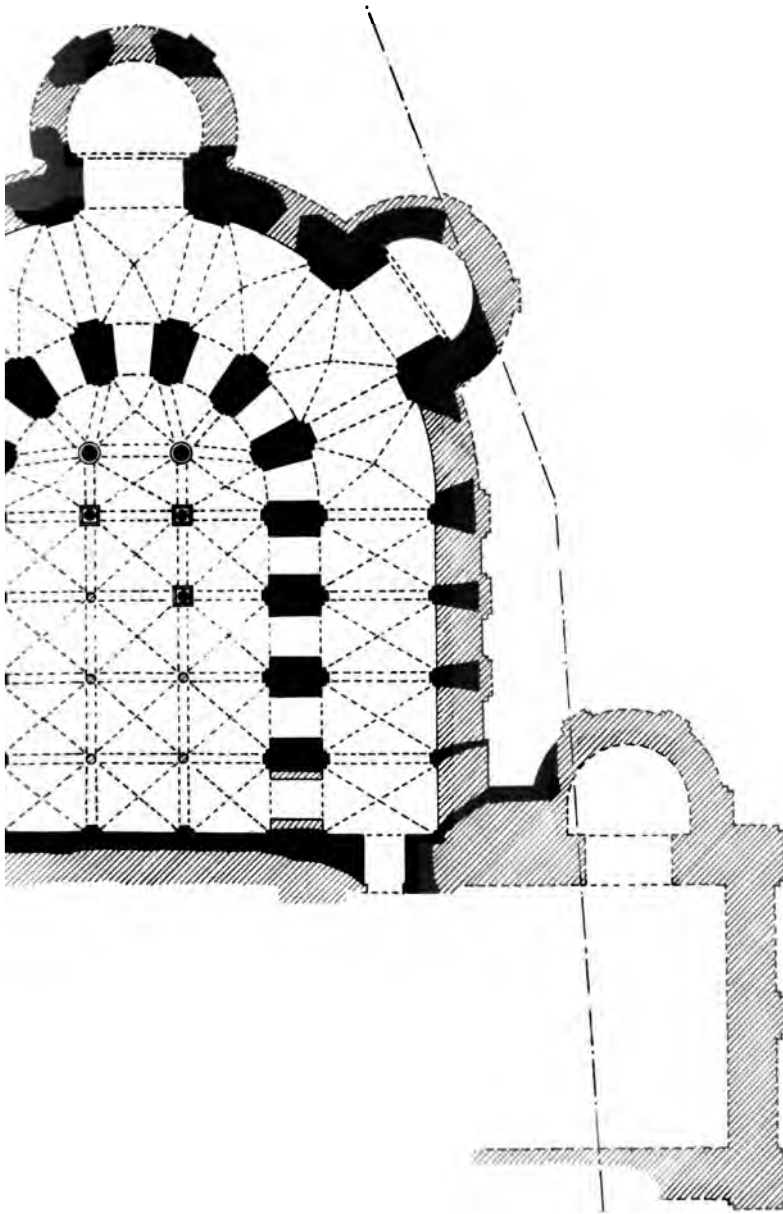
PLATE I.

■ EXISTING WALLS  
▨ CONJECTURAL "  
--- LIMIT OF EXCAVATION



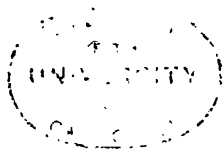
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ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY. PLAN



40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET

OF CRYPT, ETC. (From a plan by Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.)



south side, where the wall of the aisle remains up to some distance about the springing of the vaults. Much of the facing had been removed, but everywhere sufficient was left to enable a complete plan to be recovered. (Plate I.)

The crypt was entered by steps descending from the transept through two doorways, one at the end of each aisle. The crypt and its ambulatory comprised four straight bays and an apse of seven bays, with three apsidal chapels opening out of the alternate bays of the ambulatory. Of the windows which lighted the crypt, only one remains unaltered, that between the central and southern apsidal chapels; the others had been enlarged in the fourteenth century. The exterior of the walls of the ambulatory and of the apsidal chapels had pilaster buttresses of slight projection.

The straight part of the crypt had piers of oblong plan, to the north and south sides of which were attached pilasters which received the transverse arches of the vaults; these pilasters were flanked on each side by a secondary pilaster which received the groin. On the west wall of the central part of the crypt and on the walls of the aisles, the bays were divided by similar pilasters. The pilasters were surmounted by chamfered imposts. The groined vaults which covered the aisles were pronounced oblongs on plan, and enough remains on the south side to show that the curves of the transverse arches were depressed (*i.e.* lower than a semicircle). Doubtless the arches of the main arcades would be semicircular (perhaps stilted), and the depressed curve of the transverse arches would result from the Norman practice of keeping the crowns of their groined vaults at nearly the same level. The vaults were, as usual, constructed in rubble and plastered, but it is worthy of remark that the transverse arches were also constructed in rubble and plastered.<sup>1</sup>

The piers of the apse were of similar plan, but instead of being simple oblongs, their sides were oblique, radiating towards the centre of the apse. The vaults of

<sup>1</sup> The same method was employed in the vaults of the crypt of Worcester cathedral. See Professor Willis' paper

on this crypt in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1862-3, p. 216.

the central part of the crypt were supported by two rows of columns, continued into the principal apse. The bases only of five of these columns remain; their shafts were cylindrical, the two easternmost being of greater diameter than the others. From fragments found in the excavations, the capitals of these shafts were evidently cushions, with the semicircular lines on the faces of the cubes and the mitre between the cones which are characteristic of the capitals at Winchester and other Anglo-Norman churches of the end of the eleventh century. This is worth notice, for several of the earliest churches in England after the Norman Conquest show, not the cushion form, but the volute capital,<sup>1</sup> which was the typical form in Normandy at this period. Of the vaults of the central part of the crypt, nothing remains, but the supports enable us to reconstitute their plan.

The pilasters attached to the inner side of the six piers of the principal apse are a little wider (1 foot 7 inches) than the pilasters attached to the piers of the straight part of the crypt and to the walls of the aisles (these are only 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width). The pilasters at the back of these six pillars are a little wider still (2 feet 4 inches), while those on the wall of the ambulatory are still wider (3 feet 6 inches). It follows that the radiating arches across the ambulatory must have had tapering sides, increasing in width towards the wall of the ambulatory.<sup>2</sup>

Of the three chapels which open out of the alternate bays of the ambulatory, the northern and southern are semicircular on plan. The eastern chapel is of greater projection, and its plan is of the horse-shoe form.

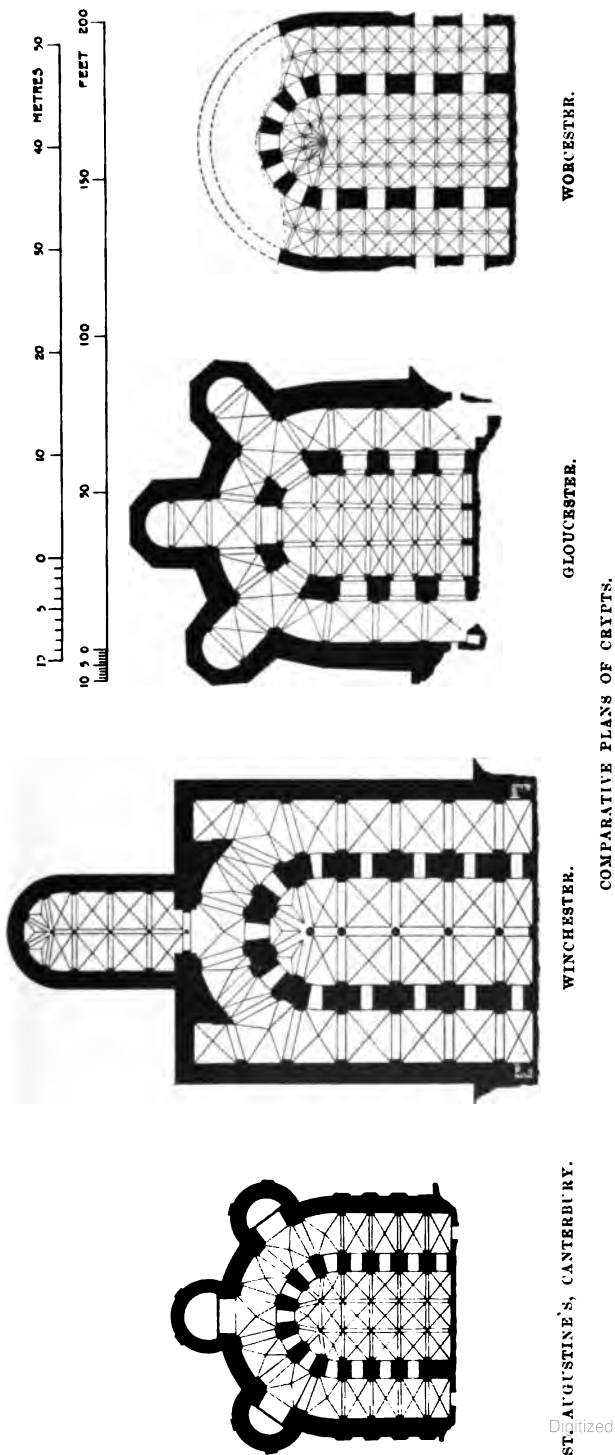
The grave of Abbot Scotland was found in the centre of the crypt, within the principal apse. Within the leaden coffin was found a plate bearing this inscription, in Lombardic characters:—

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MLXXXVII  
OBIIT SCOTLANDVS ABBAS V IDVS SEPTEMBRIS

<sup>1</sup> Chapel in the Tower of London, Lincoln Cathedral (west front), Blyth and Lastingham.

<sup>2</sup> This is the case in the ambulatory

of the chapel in the Tower of London. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. IV, pl. 48.







It may be useful to add some general remarks on analogous plans of this period in England.

The abbey-church of Westminster, built by King Edward the Confessor (1041–1066), had an ambulatory, according to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.<sup>1</sup> After the Norman Conquest the ambulatory plan was adopted for several of the larger churches, of which St. Augustine's, Canterbury, would appear to be one of the earliest. Among the principal of these may be named the cathedral churches of Winchester (commenced in 1079), Worcester (commenced in 1084), and Norwich (commenced in 1096), and the abbey churches of Gloucester (commenced in 1089), Bury St. Edmunds (commenced by Baldwin, abbot from 1065 to 1097), and Tewkesbury (end of eleventh century, dedicated in 1123). The straight part of the choir of Winchester had four bays, Gloucester three, Worcester three, Norwich four, Bury St. Edmunds five, and Tewkesbury two. The apses of Winchester and Norwich each comprised five bays; of Gloucester, Bury St. Edmunds and Tewkesbury three; and of Worcester seven, as at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Gloucester, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, and probably Worcester, had three radiating chapels. At Winchester there was an apsidal eastern chapel, but, instead of the usual radiating chapels, there was a curiously planned square-ended chapel on each side.

Three of these churches—Winchester, Gloucester, and Worcester—have, like St. Augustine's, Canterbury, vast crypts beneath their choirs, ambulatories and chapels.<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of comparison, I reproduce diagrams of the plans of these crypts in the accompanying illustration.<sup>3</sup> (Plate II.)

In all these crypts, the bays of the apse appear to be set out, not from the chord of the semicircle, but from the

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, LI, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Bury St. Edmunds also had such a crypt, but we only know its general form, and that it had twenty-four columns. The crypt of the Cathedral of Canterbury is of a period later than that here under consideration.

<sup>3</sup> The plan of the crypt of Winchester is taken from *History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of*

*Winchester*, by John Britton (1817); that of Gloucester from *Gloucester Cathedral, Notes and Sketches*, by Frederick S. Waller (1890); and that of Worcester from Professor Willis' plan (see above), and from Mr. Harold Brakspear's plan in *The Builder*, LXIII, 107. In the plans here reproduced the windows are omitted.

easternmost transverse arch of the straight part. The distance of the centre of the semicircle from this latter seems to be governed by the arrangement of the columns which support the vaults over the central part of the crypt. At St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the centre of the semicircle is only very little to the east of the easternmost transverse arch of the straight part; at Winchester and Worcester the distance is much greater. In the crypts of St. Augustine's and Gloucester, the two rows of columns which support the vaults of the central portion are continued in a direct line into the apse. At Winchester and Worcester the vaulting of the apse is arranged with radiating arches springing from a central column.<sup>1</sup> The plan of the ambulatory and radiating chapels of the crypt of Gloucester presents the closest analogy to that of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, though at Gloucester the principal apse has only three bays. The general plan of the east end of Norwich (which has no crypt) is very similar, but here the apse has five bays, and the flanking apsidal chapels are attached to the westernmost bay of the ambulatory, instead of to the second bay, as at St. Augustine's and Gloucester.

The crypt of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is remarkable for the narrowness of its bays, which measure a little less than nine feet from centre to centre.<sup>2</sup> This narrow spacing of the bays suited the vaulting<sup>3</sup> of the crypt well enough, but it must have made the bays of the choir above inconveniently narrow.<sup>4</sup> In the crypt of Winchester this difficulty was met by dividing the central part by only a single row of columns, into two bays in width. In the crypt of Gloucester, the central part of which has

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Willis' paper on the crypt of Worcester (quoted above), p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> They are even narrower than the bays of the crypt of the cathedral of Rochester, which measure about 11 feet 6 inches from centre to centre. Of this crypt, which was built by Gundulf (Bishop of Rochester 1077-1108) only the two western bays remain. Both the central part (which is divided by two rows of columns) and the aisles are covered with groined vaults, without transverse arches. See *The Architectural History of the Cathedral*

*Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester*, by W. H. St. John Hope, London, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> All the four crypts under consideration are covered with groined vaults with transverse arches.

<sup>4</sup> As nothing remains of the choir it is impossible to say anything of its design, but the plan of the crypt seems to indicate that the choir had the same number of bays as the crypt below. The bays of the nave (as indicated by the remains of the north aisle) were about 17 feet 5 inches in width from centre to centre.

two rows of columns, as at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, a different method was adopted; in the straight part of the crypt, while the bays of the aisles followed the spacing of the main piers, in the central part the vaults were arranged with one bay opposite the pier itself, and one bay opposite the arcade between the piers. A similar method was followed in the crypt of Worcester,<sup>1</sup> where the central part has three rows of columns, but here the spacing of the bays of the aisles corresponds with that of the central part, and the division of the aisles by a central row of columns into two bays in width rendered it possible to make the bays of their vaults approximately square. The eastern part of the ambulatory of the crypt of Worcester has not been recovered, but it is probable that it had three radiating chapels.

### ST. MARY'S, YORK.

The abbey of St. Mary, York, was founded towards the end of the reign of William the Conqueror. Certain monks, who had seceded from Whitby about 1078, began to build a monastic church at Lastingham, the crypt and other considerable parts of which still remain. They left this church unfinished, and came to York, where Alan of Brittany gave them the church of St. Olave and some land immediately outside the western angle of the Roman city. The historians of the abbey relate that King William Rufus visited the new monastery, and, finding its area too confined for the reception of the convent, he gave them more land, and in 1089 himself laid the foundations of a larger church.<sup>2</sup> It is the remains of this church which form the subject of this notice. In 1270, the reconstruction of the abbey church was commenced by Abbot Simon of Warwick. The plan of the thirteenth century church comprised a choir of nine bays with aisles,

<sup>1</sup> Compare the plan of the crypt of Saint-Philibert de Tournus (*Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques*, Vol. I).

<sup>2</sup> "Anno Domini millesimo octogesimo nono, Willelmus Rufus rex Angliæ et filius Willelmi regis et conquestoris Angliæ, anno regni sui secundo . . . . ad monasterium sanctæ

Marise Eboraci accessit, vidensque ipsum nimis esse angustum, ecclesiam mutavit, et nomen ecclesiæ, ipseque primum lapidem posuit, et pro nomine sancti Olavi, sanctæ Marise nomen contulit, et multa beneficia ac prædia dedit." *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1821), Vol. III, p. 546.

transept of three bays to each arm with eastern aisle, and nave of eight bays with aisles.<sup>1</sup>

In 1901 and 1902 excavations were carried out by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society on the site of the eastern part of the church, in the course of which the lower parts of the walls of the northern half of the choir and of the eastern half of the north transept of the thirteenth century church were uncovered. These excavations also revealed the foundations of the eastern part of the church commenced in 1089, which are shown black on the plan. (Plate III.)

Some fragments of the buttresses incorporated in the gable-ends of the transepts prove that in the reconstruction of the thirteenth century the length of the earlier transept was retained (about 136 feet within the walls). The plan of the church of the eleventh century shows a central apse and six apsidal chapels opening on the transept. In the north transept the foundations of a narrow apsidal chapel were found next the gable-end. To the south of this were the foundations of another apsidal chapel of greater diameter and greater projection. These two apses were semi-circular both on the exterior and on the interior.<sup>2</sup> Next to this last chapel was a third, of slightly greater width and much greater projection, which was semi-circular internally and square externally. The straight part of the choir finished a little to the east of the external face of this inner chapel, with a thick foundation wall across the chord of the apse. The principal apse was semi-circular, its diameter being a little less than the width of the straight part of the choir. As nothing remained above the floor level, it is impossible to say whether the lateral walls of the choir were solid (as at Saint Albans and Cerisy-la-Forêt), or whether they were pierced by arcades, but if the latter was the case, there could scarcely have been width enough for more than one arch on each side.

The plan of the choir is a variation, less developed, of a plan which was general in the larger churches of

<sup>1</sup> The walls of the thirteenth century church are shown on the plan by dotted lines without hatching.

<sup>2</sup> The foundations of the two corresponding apsidal chapels on the east

side of the south transept were found in the excavations made between 1822 and 1829, and they are shown on the plan in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. V, pl. 51.



PLATE III.

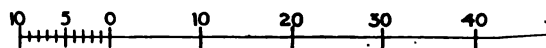
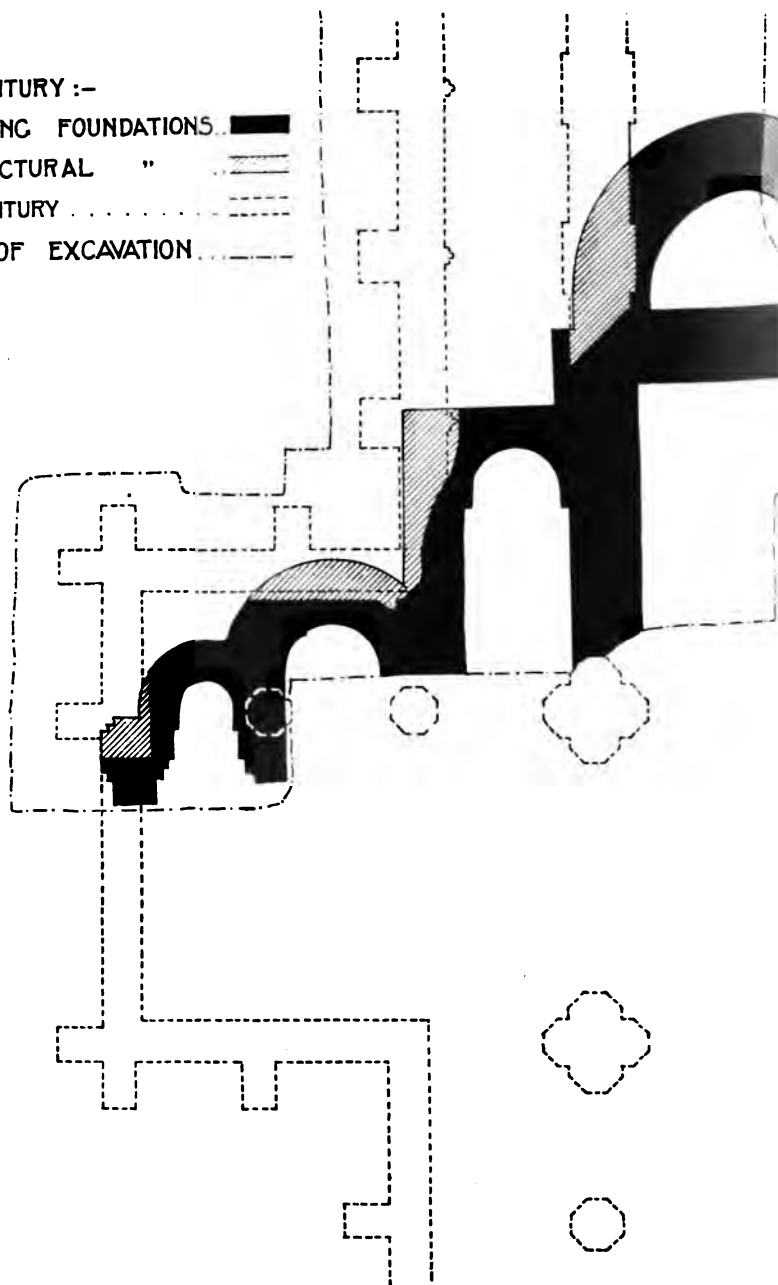
11<sup>th</sup> CENTURY :-

EXISTING FOUNDATIONS. 

CONJECTURAL " 

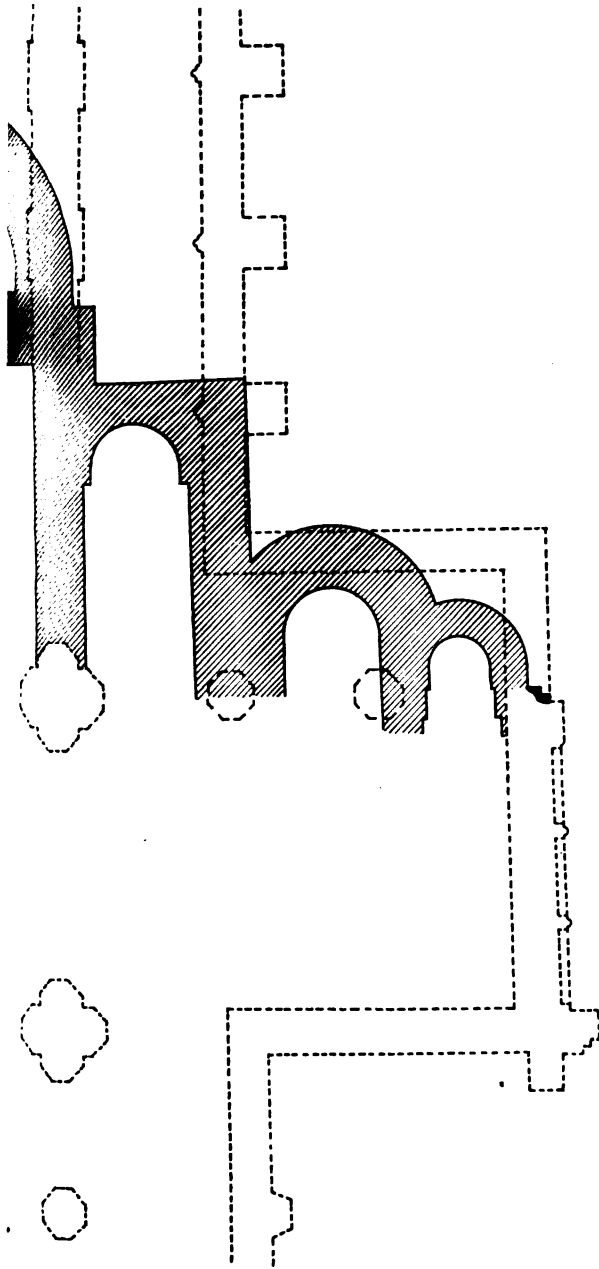
13<sup>th</sup> CENTURY . . . . . 

LIMIT OF EXCAVATION 



ST. MARY'S, YORK. PLAN SHOWING ORIGINAL EAST END. (FROM

To face page 114.



60 70 80 90 100 FEET

Des. by Mr. W. H. Brierley, F.S.A.)





Normandy at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, in which the choir, usually of two or more bays, with apse, was flanked by aisles terminated eastward by square ends, generally with apses internally.<sup>1</sup> It is found in the abbey church of Bernay, and was probably the original plan at Saint-Étienne, Caen; it still exists at Saint-Nicolas, Caen, at the abbey churches of Cerisy-la-Forêt (Manche), Lessay (Manche), and Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville (Seine-Inférieure), and at the priory church of Saint-Gabriel (Calvados). Recent investigations by M. Roger Martin du Gard have proved that the choir of Jumièges (commenced in 1040 and completed in 1052) had a plan of the same type.<sup>2</sup> In all these the choir is of two bays in length. The same plan occurs at Montivilliers (Seine-Inférieure) with a choir of three bays in length. In England it was probably the plan adopted by Lanfranc for the cathedral church of Canterbury, at the same time that St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was being built with an ambulatory; probably also at Lincoln (commenced c. 1075), and certainly at Selby (commencement of twelfth century), all these choirs being of two bays in length. The same plan is found, but with choirs of four bays in length, at St. Albans (commenced by Abbot Paul of Caen in 1077), Durham (commenced in 1093), and Peterborough (commenced in 1117); probably Ely (commenced c. 1080) also followed the same plan.

On the other hand, the plan of St. Mary's, York, displays in the chapels of the transept greater development than is usual. In the majority of examples where apsidal chapels open from the east side of the transept, there is only one to each arm.<sup>3</sup> In some of the larger English churches, the transepts have aisles instead of apsidal chapels. At Durham and Peterborough the transept has an eastern aisle. At Winchester and Ely the transept

<sup>1</sup> The plans of nine chevets of this type are given in my paper "On the recent discoveries at the east end of the Cathedral Church of Durham" (*Archaeological Journal*, LIII, 1-18, plates 1 and 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Étude archéologique des ruines de l'abbaye de Jumièges (Seine-Inférieure)*, by Roger Martin du Gard, in the

*Positions de Thèses de l'École des Chartes*, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Bernay, Cerisy-la-Forêt, Saint-Nicolas, Caen, Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, Lessay, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Chichester, Gloucester, Norwich, Selby, Southwell, etc.

has aisles on both the east and west sides, as well as a gallery across the gable ends. St. Albans, however, has two apsidal chapels *en échelon* to each arm of its transept,<sup>1</sup> as at St. Mary's, York, but at St. Albans a choir aisle of four bays in length takes the place of the third chapel, which gives the plan a different character.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the plans of Château-meillant (Cher) and Saint-Sever (Landes). For plan of the former, see *L'église Saint-Gens de Château-meillant*, by F. Deshoulières, in the *Bulletin Monumental*, LXX, 92. For plan of the latter, see *L'église*

*abbatiale de Saint-Sever*, by J. A. Brutails, in the *Bulletin archéologique*, 1900, p. 89. Compare also the original plan of La-Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). *L'église de la Charité-sur-Loire*, by A. Philippe, in the *Bulletin Monumental*, LXIX, 480.

## EXCAVATIONS IN HAYLING ISLAND.<sup>1</sup>

By TALFOURD ELY, Esq., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A.

My *Roman Hayling*, recently published by Messrs. Taylor and Francis, was written from an historical and literary point of view. The present paper will deal rather with the archaeological results of my excavations, and will include a brief account of the work done both before and since that book appeared.

From its exposed position Hayling Island has suffered much at the hands of the elements. A year or two ago the winds levelled with the ground a hundred stately elms in a single day. The waters, though their attacks are less frequent, have done more permanent damage, about half the island having been washed away in historical times. A third element, fire, has inflicted an appropriate penalty on his unruly brethren by destroying with impartial flames the old windmill at Stoke, and its still more ancient rival, the watermill driven by the tides.

For the misdeeds of her kin, however, their gentler sister, earth, has in part atoned, by sheltering in her fostering bosom the relics of the earliest civilised inhabitants of Hayling.

In 1897 an experimental excavation in the Towncil Field towards the north of the island made it clear that below the surface lay the foundations of a Roman building, and in the following year I traced the outline of walls and flint pavements, finding many nails, with fragments of pottery and wall-plaster.

The most important object discovered, however, was a *dupondius* of Domitian bearing the date of his seveneenth consulship, that is the year ninety-five of our era. The excellent preservation of this coin shows that it was lost almost immediately after it was minted. We may therefore conclude that the building in which it was found was in existence before the close of the first century. This, however, is not the earliest coin found

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Meeting of the Institute, May 2nd, 1906.

in the Towncil Field. Before I came there an *as* of Augustus, issued B.C. 29–27,<sup>1</sup> had been ploughed up; and I myself have dug up a British stater of the first century before the Christian era, besides a *denarius* of Augustus, and specimens of the “*Second Brass*” of Claudius I. and Vespasian.

In 1899 a line of massive foundation, 72 feet in length, was excavated in the adjoining field called “The Long Towncil.” Its breadth varied from 3 feet at the northern and southern ends to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet near the centre.

In front lay another block of foundation  $18\frac{1}{2}$  feet from north to south, with a width of 4 feet. Around were scattered large quantities of shells, and bones of the ox and the pig.

In the next year I satisfied myself that the above represented the eastern limit of the building, and then turned my attention to the western or larger Towncil Field, on the eastern side of which I excavated the walls, and some of the pavement, of a chamber (A on plan) which had been heated by a channelled hypocaust. Of this pavement about a hundred of the limestone *tesserae* were found, and just outside, at a depth of about a foot, lay a circular brooch of bronze inlaid with blue enamel, of a style belonging to the period of the Roman occupation of this country. I traced a main wall for 103 feet to the north-east angle, and thence westwards for 90 feet.

For convenience we may thus employ the terms north, south, east and west to denote the sides of the square excavated, though in reality the above mentioned main wall runs some 20 degrees east of north, being nearly parallel to the hedge by which the original common field has been divided.

In 1901 my operations were on a more extended scale, involving the removal of hundreds of barrowloads of earth. Three large flint pavements were uncovered, to say nothing of minor excavations, some of which reached to a distance of 170 feet to the west of the hedge.

The objects found included portions of building material, such as roof-tiles and coloured plaster; also

<sup>1</sup> See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1904, *age, from B.C. 45–3*, by H. A. Grueber, Part III, p. 198, *Roman Bronze Coin-F.S.A.*

fragments of "Samian" and other pottery; a few objects of bronze and of iron; and animal remains, such as boars' tusks. Perhaps the most interesting objects were pieces of baked clay, apparently fluted, but really no doubt the remains of "wattle and dab," from which the wood had been burnt out. Hence the charcoal with which they were mixed.

Next year I opened out the foundations of the southern wall, from its south-east angle westward to a distance nearly equal to that reached in 1900 along the parallel foundation on the north. The principal work, however, was the excavation of a parallelogram forming the south-east portion of the site, and measuring 50 feet from north to south, and 30 feet from east to west; the greater portion being within the above mentioned southern wall. Here, and also to the south of the wall, were extensive remains of flint pavement intersected by channels as if for heating purposes, the "finds" including glass and a knife.

During the few days I had to wait before the corn in the Towncil was reaped, I excavated a chamber in a field near Langston Harbour. The pavement was of flint with channels through it. On this pavement were lying fragments of tiles and pieces of wall plaster, some being coloured. The building may have been connected with a pottery which seems to have existed near this spot in Roman times.

In 1903 my excavations began on August 25th and continued, with some short intermissions, to October 27th. They were certainly more successful than those of the six previous years. I finished tracing the north and the south walls, and uncovered the outer face of the foundations of the western wall, ascertaining that the main buildings formed a square of 132 feet. Near the western end of the north wall there were indications suggesting that there was a gateway at this point. Time, however, did not allow of further excavations, and indeed this portion of the site was latterly completely under water.

Within these main walls, and parallel to them at a distance of from 13 to 16 feet, were inner walls forming no doubt a series of chambers. The width of the foundations of the main walls is 3 feet.

Tradition asserted the existence of a circle of stone in the interior, and this, by means of diagonal trenches, I found and excavated. Its diameter is between 37 and 38 feet. It probably formed a fishpond, as at 2 feet below the surface I found clay so impervious that at the close of my excavation the water was standing in the circle to the depth of a foot. In one of the above mentioned diagonal trenches there was a considerable amount of *opus signinum*. Of the coins found the most interesting was a British coin of bronze with the type and general appearance of the British gold staters which were copied from those of Philip II. of Macedon. This is a specimen of ancient forgery. Either it was originally plated with gold, or the maker relied on the brightness of the bronze to pass as gold.

In August, 1904, I once more shouldered my spade, chiefly with the view of investigating the indications of a gateway noted in the previous year.

I soon found that the northern wall, instead of meeting the western, ended abruptly, leaving a distance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet between the two lines of foundation. Almost in the centre of this gap was a rectangular mass of flintwork (B on plan) 2 feet in width, leaving an unoccupied space of 1 foot on the east and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet on the west. The latter, like the surrounding ground, was covered with a hard layer or pavement of small flints and gravel, in fact a roadway; while the narrower side space was filled with soft earth, easily removed, and bounded by the sharply defined end of the northern wall. Here apparently was a gateway with folding doors meeting at a post probably fixed in the central stonework. Further excavation pointed to a *double* gateway, a similar central block being discovered 11 feet 9 inches (or about 12 Roman feet) to the north of the above, while on each side there stretched out a flanking line of foundation intended apparently to protect the entrance, and forming in fact a small court such as is often found in the approaches to ancient buildings. In the neighbourhood of this entrance I excavated extensive foundations lying outside the north wall.

In order to ascertain whether the stone circle discovered in the previous year had been built over older buildings,

like the similar structure at Caerwent, I laid bare the whole of the exterior, but found no walls actually abutting on it, though there were foundations very near it on the east. The present width of the stone ring varies from 1 foot 11 inches on the south-east to 4 feet 9 inches on the north-east. But measurements made on four sides in 1904 give an average breadth of 3 feet 7 inches.

Further excavations confirmed the opinion that there were several subdivisions formed by interior walls parallel to those bounding the square with others at right angles. There are also indications of channelled hypocausts to the north of the one excavated in 1900 and 1903.

In the earth dug up in 1904 were found coins of Claudius I. and Vespasian, which support my view as to the very early date of the settlement in question.

Hitherto my excavations had been somewhat sporadic. Last year, therefore, I determined to complete the excavation of a single considerable block—the south-eastern quarter, a space extending some 80 feet from east to west by 67 feet from north to south, portions of which had been examined in previous years. Here I found two more hypocausts; in them were remains of charcoal, tiles, shells, and coloured plaster, indicative of residential quarters.

The site now excavated occupied the highest part of a “brow” or swelling of the surface, which has long been considered to be artificial. That it is, however, really of natural origin has been proved, I think, by my recent excavations, for flint pavements of large extent are here found within a few inches of the surface, instead of being thickly covered with débris as they would have been if the rise in the level of the ground had been caused by remains of walls, roof, or other human handiwork. There was, indeed, on this side a remarkable dearth of traces of the subdivisions previously mentioned.

My next task was to complete the excavation of the north and south walls, and a portion of the western wall. In the eastern half of the north wall there is a part of the foundation lying at a much lower level than the rest (C on plan). Either there was here a gate, or the upper portion of the wall foundation has been destroyed for a length of 9 feet. While I was engaged upon this part



of the excavations a labourer informed me that sixty years ago he and his father were working in the field north of the Towncil when they came upon building material and graves, from which they dug up boxes of bones. On my suggesting that there might have been a road northwards from the Roman settlements in the Towncil Field to "the Wadeway" (the ancient passage to the mainland), he replied that indications of such a road might occasionally be seen in the growing crops. Upon this I made an experimental excavation at a point 143 feet north of the apparent gateway, and about knee-deep found what seemed to be a road formed of flints and gravel, with a few fragments of pottery. The ploughman in the field further north told me he had found one coin, which he had given away as a halfpenny.

Having excavated half the wall of the circle to its full width, I drew diagonal trenches on lines passing through the centre to investigate various points of the site. Near the south-west angle a hypocaust (D on plan) of considerable size was discovered. In this neighbourhood, close to the western termination of the south wall, there is an abrupt fall of 4 inches in the level of the wall foundation (E on plan), similar to that already mentioned as occurring in the north wall. This depression is 7 feet in length. A slight set back near the south end of the west wall, and a very small chamber or cell opposite suggest a gateway at this spot, and this would correspond with the gateway in the north wall excavated in 1904. This year, however, I found no indication of a central block, and no outer gateway, so the lower level may be accidental.

Trenches dug across the north-eastern quarter revealed some stonework, and yielded so much in the way of shells and of broken pottery, both black and "Samian," as to suggest that systematic excavation here would prove fruitful of interesting results. Time, however, was not sufficient for further work.

Now as to the nature and purpose of the structure. The square enclosure appears to have contained more than one house, and several outbuildings. The flint walls and pavements outside were, no doubt, intended for cattle. The settlement was founded at a very early date, and

continued to exist probably to the close of the Roman occupation of Britain, the latest coins found being a *foliis* of Constantine, struck in London about A.D. 315, a *centenionalis* of the same emperor, minted between A.D. 335 and 337, and a *foliis* of Constantius II., of about A.D. 354.

Among the objects found which merit attention are a somewhat peculiar *stilus* and a fragment of a bronze bracelet, also of unusual pattern.

I have to thank Mr. H. A. Grueber and his colleagues at the British Museum for valuable help in compiling the appended list of coins found on the site. It will be seen that although the first is the only one in the list that can be claimed as unique, the extent of time represented by these coins—some four centuries—is worthy of remark.

		DATE.	REVERSE.
1. British Stater	... ..	First century B.C.	Rude horse.
2. <i>Denarius</i> of Augustus	... ..	A.D. 1-14	Figures of Caius and Lucius Caesar.
3. <i>Dupondius</i> (Double <i>As</i> , or "Second Brass") of Claudius I.	...	—	Minerva striding to right.
4. do. do.	...	41	do.
5. <i>Dupondius</i> (Double <i>As</i> , or "Second Brass") of Vespasian.	...	73	Eagle with outstretched wings on globe.
6. <i>Dupondius</i> (Double <i>As</i> , or "Second Brass") of Domitian.	...	87	Mars striding to right. <i>Virtuti Augusti.</i>
7. do. do.	...	95	do.
8. <i>Dupondius</i> (Double <i>As</i> , or "Second Brass") of Hadrian.	...	119	Galley with rowers.
9. <i>Dupondius</i> (Double <i>As</i> , or "Second Brass") of Antoninus Pius.	...	155	Britannia seated to left (the earliest representation of Britannia known).
10. <i>Folliis</i> of Constantine I.	... circ. 315	...	Sol to left (struck in London).
11. <i>Centenionalis</i> of Constantine I.	335-337	...	Victory holding spear and shield. (On the <i>Obverse</i> , bust of Constantinopolis.)
12. <i>Folliis</i> of Constantius II.	... circ. 354	...	The Emperor and Victory in a boat. <i>Felicitas temporum reparatio.</i>

I have had the opportunity of examining the following four coins found in the Towncil Field before my operations began, and now in the possession of Mr. F. Trigg :—

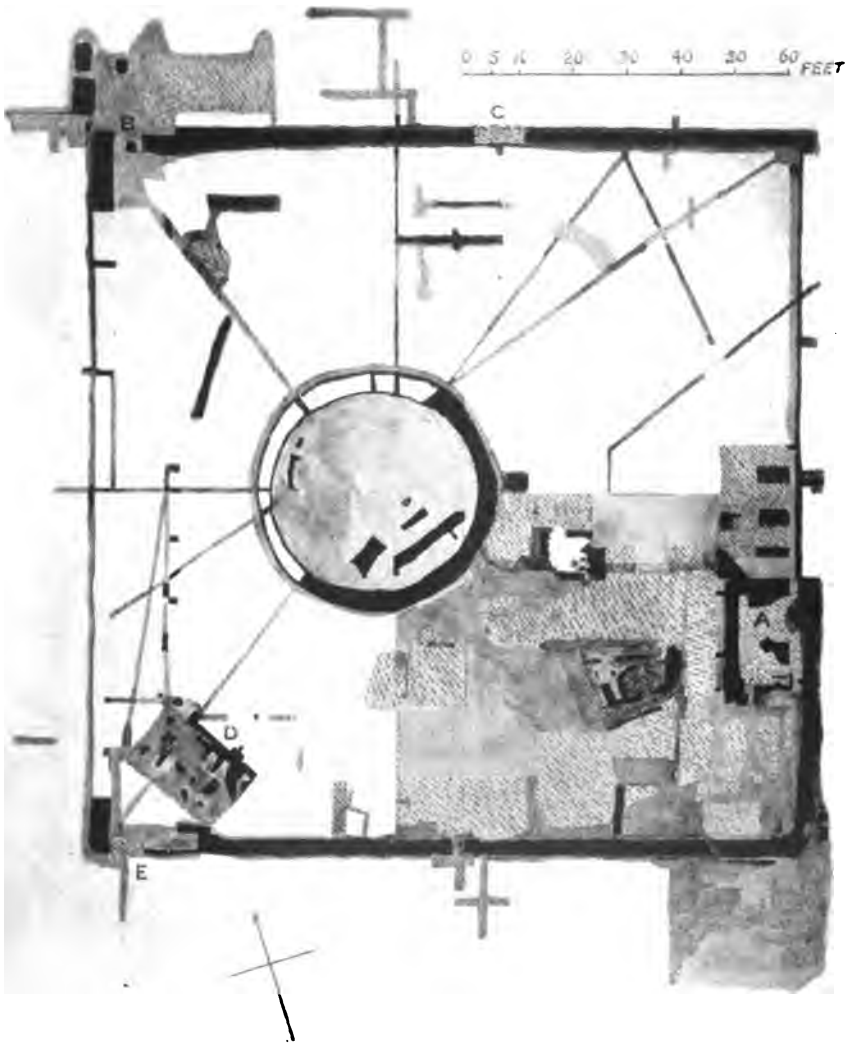
	DATE.
a. <i>As</i> of Augustus ... ..	B.C. 29-27.
b. <i>Denarius</i> of Antoninus Pius ... ..	A.D.
c. <i>Dupondius</i> of Faustina ... ..	„ 141-161.
d. British imitation of coin of Postumus ... ..	„ 258-267.

Other interesting objects found by me were :—

Bronze and enamel brooch.

Bronze { Bangle.  
Portion of bracelet.  
Set of toilet implements.

Iron { Key.  
Knife.  
*Stilus*.



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS IN HAYLING ISLAND.



## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE CHAPLINS AND THE CHAPEL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. 1256-1568. By the Rev. H. P. STOKES, LL.D. pp. 100. 5 plates. Cambridge.

This interesting pamphlet is the latest publication of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and, as its title denotes, deals with two subjects, the office, functions and duties of the University Chaplin, and the Nova Capella Universitatis and its furniture.

The University Chaplin owed the permanent foundation of his office to a generous benefactor of Cambridge, Nigel de Thornton, Doctor of Physic. Mr. Stokes, however, is able to show that there existed prior to the year 1279, Chaplins with similar attributes founded by the executors of William de Kilkenney, Bishop of Ely, some time after the death of that prelate in 1256. Some difficulties were experienced in getting the property settled to its pious uses in accordance with Dr. Thornton's desire, but sometime in 1294 the matter was completed and henceforth the Chaplin is a definite University Officer until the Reformation Settlement abolished the prime reason of his existence and distributed his divers functions into other hands.

No list of the Chaplins exist, but the names of certain of them have been preserved in the University Grace Books. There is a *hiatus* from 1347-1438, otherwise the list is fairly complete, and the author is to be congratulated in rescuing these names from the oblivion of the dusty indentures and records where they have long been hidden. The office was apparently a step to greater things and its importance undoubtedly increased as years went on.

The names of Hugh Latimer, Nicolas Heath, and Nicolas Ridley, all of whom held the office between the years 1522-1540, are sufficient to show that at that time Cambridge estimated the office as one of honour for her most distinguished sons.

The duties annexed to the office were six in number, and their origin and many interesting facts in connection with them will be found in Chapter II, while the next chapter traces the history of the various duties after the Reformation and shows to what officials they were confided. Besides his purely ecclesiastical functions the Chaplin had to manage the property from whence he derived his stipend, he was also keeper of the Schools and of the Library. The last holder of the office, shorn of most of its grandeur and solemnity, was John Stokes, Vice-Chancellor 1565-6. He died 1568 and with him died the office and title of Chaplin of the University.

The second half of the volume deals with the New Chapel situated over the Divinity School, which latter building was commenced about the year 1359, but not finished until the close of the century, so that we cannot date the New Chapel much before 1400. Mr. Stokes has unearthed much curious information about this celebrated room, and its connection with the University Chaplin, and his description is much assisted by plans reproduced from Parker, Logan and other

writers. In Chapter VI the author tells us what is known about furniture and fittings of the chapel, and gives us a conjectural restoration of the University Cross and several inventories of ecclesiastical and secular objects which reposed in the Chaplin's custody. The Cross was the pride of many generations, as is evidenced by the frequent mention of it in the University records; sold for £90, it was no doubt consigned to the melting pot like so many treasures of the Old Order.

We are much indebted to Mr. Stokes for this little book, which if small in compass yet contains the results of much fatiguing work. It throws fresh light, not merely on the immediate subject with which it deals, but also with the old working of a university in the days when a totally different atmosphere permeated its daily life. Mr. Stokes has rescued from oblivion a personage whom few have heard of, and presents him to us as an important feature of the old Cambridge life. Perhaps the most interesting deduction that can be drawn is that even in those centuries, when Conservatism was strongest, an office should have gradually changed until its original purpose was well nigh swamped under the new functions which the development of University life heaped upon it.

#### MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN THE BEDFORDSHIRE CHURCHES.

By Miss GRACE ISHERWOOD. pp. 68. 8 plates. Elliot Stock. London, 1906.

A comprehensive catalogue of English brasses still remains to be written, and whoever undertakes the task will find his labour lightened by the use of local work like that contained in the volume before us. Miss Isherwood has conscientiously hunted through the churches of Bedfordshire, and has tabulated in alphabetical order those churches in which there still remain, in spite of the destructive vandalism of the past, those most appropriate monuments of the dead.

As the authoress tells us, there are no brasses in Bedfordshire conspicuously remarkable either for the highest artistic finish or as commemorating persons of common fame; but that fact should not detract from the interest that we must feel for our local antiquities. We have, in fact, in these brasses memorials of a class who formed the backbone of a nation, and whose influence will remain when the names of Plantagenet and Percy are forgotten.

There are, however, three interesting and rare samples of brasses in the churches of Wymington, Bromham and Elstow. At Wymington the memorial to Sir Thomas Brounflet, 1430, life size, and therefore one of the largest in the country; at Bromham there is one of the three palimpsests in the county. Originally made in 1435 to commemorate Thomas Wideville, Esq., and his two wives, it was utilised a century later as a memorial of Sir John Dyve, his mother, and his wife. Elstow is fortunate in the possession of one of the two surviving brasses to English abbesses. The oldest civilian brass in the county is that of John Curteys at Wymington bearing date 1391, the earliest military example is that of Walter Roland at Cople, 1415; the majority of the military brasses are of late Tudor times.

Miss Isherwood has taken the precaution of carefully describing each brass and of giving any inscription found upon it, and where possible she shows the connection between the person commemorated and the parish. With her we regret that even at the present time there should

be found persons who will remove from their ancient settings these purely local memorials, whose sole interest to the antiquary lies in the locality in which they occur. The illustrations are from drawings by Miss K. Isherwood, made from the original rubbings taken by the authoress of the paper.

**BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY. Bulletin 29. Haida Texts and Myths.**

This is a collection of stories collected in the winter of 1900-1901, by John R. Swanton, on the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, for philological study, texts of the different dialects with interlinear translations have been inserted in case of the first fourteen stories, the remainder are translations whose form approximates as closely to the original as is possible, having regard to clearness of expression.

The myths all deal with subjects familiar to the daily life of savage peoples. War, hunting and fishing, form the canvas on which the Haida Storyteller introduces to us his deities and demons, and those curious conceptions of the unknown which materialise themselves at every turn, and influence the savage life to so great a degree. The author gives us plans of various forms of traps used by the Haida tribes and mentioned in the stories.

The following publications have been received by the Institute :—

- Archaeologia Cambrensis*, January, 1906. 6th Series. No. 21.
- Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* for 1905. Vol. XXVIII. Part I.
- Papers, etc., read at Meetings of the Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Worcester and Leicester*, 1904. Vol. XXVII. Part II.
- Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*. 3rd Series. Vol. VI. Part I.
- Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 1905. Vol. XIV. Part I.
- Leeds Grammar School Register. Vol. XV. Part I. Miscellaneous.
- The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1905. Part LXXII.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1904-1905. Vol. XXXIX. 4th Series. Vol. III.

The following foreign publications have been received by the Institute :—

- Anales del Museo Nacional de México*. Tomo II, Números 11 y 12, et Tomo III, Número 3.
- Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, 9. IV, 11. VI, 13. IV, 15. III, 17. IV, V, 18. I.
- Revista Archeologica della Provincia e Antica Diocesi di Como*. Aprile, 1906.
- Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. 1905.
- Suomen Museo. Finskt Museum*, XII, 1905.
- Les peintures et gravures murales des cavernes pyrénéennes altamira de Santellane et Marsoulas*, par M. E. Cartailhac et L'Abbé H. Breuil.





## THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF BEAULIEU, IN THE COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON.<sup>1</sup>

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.,

AND

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, Esq., F.S.A.

### GENERAL HISTORY.

According to an account printed, though not quite correctly, in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*,<sup>2</sup> from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which is believed to have belonged to the Abbey of Kirkstall :

In the 6th year of King John the same King built a certain monastery of the Cistercian Order in England and named it *Bellus-Locus*. This monastery is said to have been built by him for the following reason :

Because the same King was angry beyond measure without cause against the abbats and other members of the aforesaid Cistercian Order and vexed them immoderately through his ministers, at a certain Parliament which he held at Lincoln, the abbats of the said Order came to see if in any way they could regain the King's grace and favour. When he saw them, so cruel of mind was he, that he vilely ordered his servants to trample the said abbats under the feet of the horses. But the royal servants, being unwilling to perform so atrocious and unheard-of a command from any Christian prince, these lord abbats, because they almost despaired of the royal bounty, hastily returned to their lodgings.

On the following night, when the same King John was sleeping in his bed, it seemed to him that he had been led before a certain judge, the aforesaid abbats standing there, who ordered the said abbats to beat the said King upon his back with scourges and rods. And this very beating, on awakening in the morning, he said he felt. Moreover, he narrated his dream to a certain ecclesiastical personage of his court, who told him that God was merciful to him beyond measure, in that he had deigned so clemently and paternally to correct him in this present age and to reveal to him his mysteries, and he counselled the King to send speedily for the abbats of the said Order, and to beg from them an humble pardon for his guilt. The King assenting, they were sent for to come to the King. On hearing this from the King's messenger, they thought they would be banished from England. But God, who

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Ordinary Meeting of the Institute, 4th July, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, v. 682.

leaves not his own, disposed otherwise, for when they had come into the King's presence, the same King relaxed his indignation which he had towards them.<sup>1</sup>

So much of this story as relates to the vexatious treatment of the Cistercian abbats is evidently based on the pecuniary claims made upon the Order when King John was at York in March, 1200. These claims are set forth at length by the writer of the Coggeshall chronicle, who was himself a Cistercian. He also gives the text of the writs issued by the King when at Lincoln in November of the same year, informing the respective sheriffs that he had received into full favour the abbats of the Cistercian Order, and taken all their goods and possessions into his own hand, custody, and protection.<sup>2</sup>

Although there does not seem to be any direct connexion between the King's alleged dream and the founding of Beaulieu Abbey, there are certain facts which show that John did actually begin a foundation of Cistercian monks within reasonable date of his making peace with the Order.

<sup>1</sup> The following is the actual text, as transcribed from the original in Cott. MS. Domitian A. xii :

f. 85b.] "Anno regis Johannis vj<sup>o</sup>  
Idem Rex construxit quoddam cenobium Ordinis Cisterciensis in Anglia et Bellum locum nominavit. Quod quidem cenobium tali occasione narratur ab eo factum. Quia enim idem Rex versus abbates et alias personas ordinis Cisterciensis prenominati supra modum sine causa esset iratus et eosdem non mediocriter per ministros suos gravaret ad quoddam parlamentum quod ipse apud Lincolniam tenuit Abbates dicti ordinis venerunt [f. 86] si quo modo Regis ejusdem graciā et favorem potuissent aliquatinus invenire. Quibus visis, sicut crudelis animi erat precepit suis ut dictos abbates sub pedibus equorum viliter conculcarent. Regis vero ministris tam facinorosum et inauditum hactenus mandatum ab aliquo principe Christiano perficere nolentibus : hii domini Abbates quia fere desperantes de regia benignitate ad sua hospicia festinanter accesserunt. Nocte vero sequenti cum idem rex Johannes in lecto suo dormiret, videbatur ei quod coram quodam iudice

predictis abbatibus illuc assistentibus ductus fuisset. Qui eisdem abbatibus jussit dictum Regem supra dorsum suum cum flagellis et virgis verberare. Quam quidem verberacionem mane vigilans dixit se sensitisse. Sompnium vero suum cuidam persone ecclesiastice de curia sua narravit. qui dixit ei. quod Deus erga eum supra modum esset misericors qui eum tam clementer et paterne in presenti seculo dignatus est corripere. et eidem sua misteria revelare. Et consuluit Regem. ut pro abbatibus dicti ordinis velociter mitteret. et ab eisdem de reatu suo veniam humilem imploraret. Rege siquidem acquiescente pro eis ut ad regem venirent missum est. Quod audientes per nuncium regis putaverunt se ab Anglia fore exterminandos. Deo tamen qui suos non deserit aliter disponente. Cum enim ante conspectum regis venissent indignacionem suam quam erga eos habuit idem Rex remisit."

The MS. from which this is taken is entitled, in an eighteenth century hand : "Cronica de Kirkstall."

<sup>2</sup> *Radulphi de Coggeshale Chronicon Anglicanum* (Rolls Series 66), 102-110.

This foundation was not, however, at Beaulieu, but on the royal manor of Faringdon, in Berkshire. The actual date of it does not appear, but on the Liberate Roll for the King's fifth regnal year are two writs, both dated 5th July, 1203.<sup>1</sup>

The one is addressed to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, directing him to find out what the Cistercian monks have spent on seed and other necessary expenses in the manor of Faringdon, and repay them what they are out of pocket.

The other writ is to Hugh de Nevill, bidding him to see what timber the Cistercian monks need to make sheepcotes and other necessary houses at Faringdon, and to let them have it from the King's wood.

On 2nd November of the same year, the King issued another writ to Hugh de Nevill ordering him to let "the monks of Faringdon" have timber in a convenient place for building their houses according to the number of monks.<sup>2</sup>

On the same 2nd November the King also issued a charter, granting to the church of the Blessed Mary of Citeaux, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his predecessors and his heirs, the manor of Faringdon "as the monks of the aforesaid monastery of Citeaux who are at Faringdon hold it, with its appurtenances, to build there a certain abbey of the Cistercian Order, so that there may be a convent there."<sup>3</sup>

For some reason, perhaps on account of the smallness of the endowment, the scheme was not apparently at once carried into effect, and in the course of the following year

<sup>1</sup> Liberate Roll, 5 John [1203]. m. 11.

Rex etc. G. filio Petri etc. Mandamus vobis quod inquiri faciatis quantum monachi Cistercienses posuerint in simine et in aliis expensis necessariis in manerio de Ferendofi: et id quod in hiis posuerint ultra id quod inde receperint eis sine dilacione reddi faciatis. T. me ipso apud Roth. v. die Julii. Per episcopum Norwiū.

Rex etc. Hugoni de Nevitt. etc. Mandamus vobis quod videri faciatis quanto mairemii indigeant monachi Cistercienses: ad faciendas barkerias et alias necessarias domos apud Ferendofi: et ad illas eis mairemii habere faciatis in bosco nostro: ubi et sicut videritis habere fieri posse ad minus

detrimentum bosci nostri. T. domino Norwiū: apud Roth. v. die Julii.

[NOTE.—These and other extracts that follow from the Liberate and Close Rolls are extended from the contracted printed versions published by the Record Commission.]

<sup>2</sup> Liberate Roll, 5 John [1203]. m. 7.

Rex etc. Hugoni de Nevitt. etc. Mandamus vobis quod faciatis habere monachis de Ferendofi mairemii in loco competenti ad edificia sua facienda secundum quantitatem monachorum ibidem existentium. T. me ipso apud V'not. ij die Novembris.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel), v. 683.

the King formally founded a new and more important abbey at a place called *Bellus Locus* or Beaulieu, in the New Forest, to which, amongst other endowments, the manor of Faringdon was annexed.

The foundation charter so-called is dated at Winchester on 25th January, 1204-5, in the King's sixth regnal year, and gives, grants, and confirms to God and the church of St. Mary de *Bello Loco Regis* "which we have founded in the New Forest in Southamptonshire," and to the abbats and monks who serve and shall serve God there, the very place in which their abbey is situated with all the land contained within the bounds subscribed. These are duly set forth, as are the various manors, etc., where-with the King endowed his new foundation.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest document relating to the abbey of Beaulieu is apparently a brief upon the Close Roll, dated 16th August, 1204, in the King's sixth year, that is, five months earlier than the foundation charter, directed to all the Cistercian abbats, begging them in consideration of God and himself to make an aid for his new abbey of Beaulieu in the New Forest "because we have begun it in the same place of your Order to store it with provisions and that each one of you do for us as our letters signify."<sup>2</sup>

On the 12th September the King directs William of Wrotham, archdeacon of Taunton, and his fellow to let the abbat of Beaulieu have 23 marks and 10*d.* (£15 7*s.* 6*d.*) from the Exchequer, and on the 23rd October the Treasurer was ordered to deliver to the abbat 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) "for building our abbey."<sup>3</sup> Early in April,

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Mon. Anglicanum*, v. 683.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll, 6 John. m. 19, *in dorso*.

Rex etc. omnibus Abbatibus Cisterciensibus etc. Rogamus vos attentius quatinus intuitu Dei et nostri auxilium faciatis nove Abbacie nostre de Bello Loco in Nova Foresta quia de ordine vestro ibidem inchoavimus ad eam de avertis instaurandam. Et quid ei singuli vestri inde fecerint nobis per litteras suas significent. Teste etc. apud Wigorniam xvj. die Augusti anno etc. vij<sup>to</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Close Roll, 6 John. m. 17.

Rex etc. Willelmo de Wrotham Archidiacono de Tanton et sociis

suis, etc. Mandamus vobis quod statim visis literis istis faciatis habere Abbati de Bello Loco xxij. marcas et x.d. etc. Teste G. filio Petri etc. apud Lutegareshal xij. die Septembris.

Close Roll, 6 John. m. 18.

Rex etc. W. Thesaurario etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Abbati de Bello Loco in Nova Foresta C. marcas ad abbaciam nostram construendam ad terminos quos vobis dicent Dominus Norwicensis et G. filius Petri, et Petrus de Rupibus. Teste me ipso apud Brehitt xxij. die Octobris.

1205, the King directs the barons of the Exchequer to allow to William of Cornhill, "our clerk," from the issues of the bishopric of Winchester, 250 marks (£166 13s. 4d.), which he paid to the monks of the Cistercian Order at Beaulieu by will of Godfrey, bishop of Winchester.<sup>1</sup> As the bishop died in September, 1204, the actual foundation of the abbey was probably in August, concurrently with the issue of the King's brief to the Cistercian abbats.

Two other writs are entered upon the Close Roll: one dated 26th August, 1205, directing the treasurer to deliver to the abbat of Beaulieu 107½ marks (£71 13s. 4d.) to enable him to attend as the King's messenger to the general Chapter, and a further 50 marks (£33 6s. 8d.) for him and his house on his return, as the King's gift; the other, dated 22nd January, 1207-8, bidding the payment from the treasury to the bishop of Winchester of 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) for the building of the church of the monks of Beaulieu.<sup>2</sup>

The total of the sums thus given for the building was nearly 1,000 marks, or actually £615 7s. 6d.

It is not until five years have elapsed (during which England was under the Interdict) that any further grants from the King appear on the Close Roll.

By writ dated 30th June, 1213, the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer are directed to deliver "to the guardians of our work of Beaulieu 400 marks (£266 13s. 4d.) this side of Michaelmas, and 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) between Michaelmas and Easter following for our work of Beaulieu." The first payment of 400 marks

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 6 John. m. 5.

Rex Baronibus etc. Computate Willelmo de Cornhill clerico nostro in exitibus Episcopatus Wintonie ducentas et quinquaginta marcas quas pacavit Monachis Cisterciensis ordinis de Bello Loco de testamento G. quondam Wintoni Episcopi anno etc. vi<sup>to</sup>. Teste me ipso apud Sutton vj. die Aprilis.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll, 7 John. m. 16.

Rex W. Thesaurario etc. Mandamus vobis quod sicut nos diligitis statim visis literis istis omni occasione et dilacione prepositis liberetis Abbati de Bello Loco C. et vij. marcas et

dimidium; ad eundem in nuncium nostrum ad capitulum: et liberetis ei L. marcas que ei et domui sue a retro sunt de dono nostro. Teste me ipso apud Dorcestriam xxvj. die Augusti.

Close Roll, 9 John. m. 9.

Rex W. Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis etc. Liberate de Thesauro domino Episcopo Wintoniensi quingentas marcas ad edificacionem ecclesie Monachorum de Bello Loco. Teste me ipso apud Lamehitham xxij. die Januarij anno regni nostri ix. per ipsum Regem.

is not to be delayed lest the work should stand for want of money.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th November, 1214, among a large number of payments ordered to be made from the Exchequer is one of £100 to be paid to Anestasius, prior of Beaulieu, for the work of the church of Beaulieu, through the bishop of Winchester.<sup>2</sup>

Another writ dated 29th January, 1214-15, directs the chancellor that "without delay you let the monks of Beaulieu who are the bearers of these presents have what we have elsewhere enjoined for the work of their abbey"; probably by the writ of 4th November already quoted.

Two further grants from King John are entered during the last part of his reign. The first is a direction dated 9th April, 1215, to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to pay, amongst other things, sums of 50 marks and of £15 "to the monks of Beaulieu *ad reparacionem*<sup>3</sup> of their church."<sup>4</sup> The second is a writ issued by Peter, bishop of Winchester, as regent during the King's absence abroad, dated 4th September, 1214, directing the officers of the Exchequer to pay to brother Aszo £100 from the royal treasure for the work at Beaulieu: a further point of interest is that this writ is dated from the abbey itself.<sup>5</sup>

These additional grants amounted in all to £848 6s. 8d., making a total contribution by the founder of £1,463 14s. 2d.

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 15 John, pt. ii. m. 9.

Rex W. Thesaurario, G. et R. Camerariis, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro custodibus operacionis nostre de Bello Loco quadringentas marcas citra instans festum Michaelis anno regni nostri xv<sup>o</sup>. et quingentas marcas inter idem festum sancti Michaelis et Pasche proximo sequens anno eodem, ad operacionem nostram de Bello Loco. Et primam liberacionem de quadringentis marcis ita maturetis ne operacio illa pro defectu denariorum remaneat. Teste me ipso apud Stok. Episcopi xxx. die Junii. per dominum P. Wynton Episcopum.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll, 16 John, pt. ii. m. 18.

Et liberate Anestasio Priori de Bello Loco centum libras ad operacionem ecclesie de Bello Loco per eundem Episcopum. [Peter, bishop of Winchester.]

<sup>3</sup> The word *reparatio* in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to be used sometimes rather in the sense of *preparatio* than as signifying "repair" in its modern sense. [W. H. St. J. H.]

<sup>4</sup> Close Roll, 16 John, pt. ii. m. 5.

Rex W. Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis, etc. . . . Liberate Monachis de Bello Loco L. marcas ad reparacionem ecclesie sue. Teste me ipso apud Oxoniam. ix. die Aprilis.

<sup>5</sup> Close Roll, 16 John, pt. iii. m. 2.

P. etc. dilectis sibi W. domini Regis Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis salutem. Liberate fratri Aszoni centum libras de thesauro domini Regis ad operacionem Belli Loci Regis. Teste me ipso apud Bellum Locum Regis iiii<sup>to</sup> die Septembris.

King John himself was certainly thrice at Beaulieu: on 19th May, 1206; on 18th December, 1212; and on 19th–20th March, 1212–13.

After the death of the founder in October, 1216, the grants from the Exchequer to the building of the abbey ceased for some years, and it is not until November, 1220, in the 5th year of Henry III.'s reign, that another writ appears on the Close Roll, directing payment to the abbat of Beaulieu of 50 marks of the King's gift for the work (*ad operacionem*) of the church of Beaulieu.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year letters patent were issued on the 26th January, 1220–1, informing the abbat of Kirkstall that the King had assigned to the abbat and monks of Beaulieu £90 due yearly from him to the Exchequer, from the farm of the manors of Collingham and Bardsey, to be received every year from him as long as the King please, for the work of their church.<sup>2</sup>

In the year following, by letters patent dated 21st January, 1221–2, the King made another such grant of £10 yearly, due from the bailiwick of Henry of Lyndhurst to John of Monmouth, which sum was to be paid over every year, while the King pleased, to the work of the church of Beaulieu.<sup>3</sup>

Writs relating to this yearly grant of £100 to the

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 5 Henry III. pt. i. m. 20.

*De liberacione.* Rex E. Thesaurario et F. et R. Camerariis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Abbati Belli loci L. marcas de dono nostro ad operacionem ecclesie Belli loci. Teste H. de Burgo Justiciario nostro apud Westmonasterium xxiiij. die Novembris anno etc. v<sup>o</sup>. per eundem et Episcopum Winton.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll, 5 Henry III. [1221.] m. 6.

*De quater xx et x libris assignatis monachis Belli Loci Regis.*

Rex dilecto sibi in X<sup>o</sup>. abbati de Kirkestall, salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus abbati et monachis Belli Loci Regis quaterviginti et x libras quas nobis debetis ad scaccarium nostrum de firma de Colingeham et Bardese, recipiendas a vobis singulis annis quamdiu nobis placuerit *ad operacionem ecclesie sue*. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictis

abbati et monachis de predictis quaterviginti et x libris, sicut predictum est, singulis annis respondeatis. Teste H. etc. apud Westmonasterium xxvj. die Januarij, anno regni nostri v. Per eundem et consilium domini regis.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll, 6 Henry III. [1222.] m. 5.

*De x libris assignatis abbati et monachis Belli Loci.*

Rex Johanni de Monemuwe salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus abbati et monachis Belli Loci x libras, quas Henricus de Lindhurst nobis debet per annum de baillia vestra recipiendas a vobis singulis annis, quamdiu nobis placuerit, ad operacionem ecclesie sue. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictis abbati et monachis de predictis x libris, singulis annis, sicut predictum est, respondeatis. Teste H. etc. apud Westm. xxj. die Januarij anno eodem. Per eundem et consilium domini regis.



abbey are entered for several successive years on the Close Rolls.

Among the writs of this period is one of somewhat peculiar interest. It is dated 17th October, 1224, and is addressed to the bailiffs of the port of Southampton in these terms :

The King to the bailiffs of the port of Southampton greeting. Durand the mason has showed us that when he came into England at the bidding of the Abbot of Beaulieu to work there, you arrested twenty-one *burellos* of his which he brought with him into England. And therefore we command you, that if the abbot aforesaid will warrant that the aforesaid Durand came into England at his bidding, as is aforesaid, and that the aforesaid *burellos* are Durand's, then you cause them to be delivered without delay.<sup>1</sup>

What was the exact nature of the *burelli* which Durand brought over, and for which he apparently refused to pay the customs duty, is uncertain. The more important fact disclosed by the writ is the employment of a foreign mason at Beaulieu. That the church was planned by a Frenchman there can be no doubt, but owing to its total destruction it is impossible to say what part of it Durand may have been sent for to do. There is nothing in the remains of the monastic buildings suggestive of foreign influence.

In 1227, that is thirteen years after the foundation, according to the annals of the sister house of Waverley, "the monks of Beaulieu entered into their new church with great joy on the vigil of the Assumption of the most blessed Mary," that is, on 14th August.<sup>2</sup>

It, of course, by no means follows that the entry into the church implies the completion of the building, but merely that some part of it, probably the presbytery or eastern limb, was sufficiently advanced to be used.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 8 Henry III. pt. i. m. 2. Rex Ballivis portus Suhamton salu-tem. Ostendit nobis Durandus Cementarius quod cum veniret in Angliam ad mandatum Abbatis de Bello Loco ut ibi operaretur vos arestastis xxj. burellos de suis quos secum tulit in Angliam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod si predictus Abbas warantizet predictum Durandum ad mandatum suum venisse in Angliam, sicut predictum est, et predictos burellos esse ipsius Durandi: tunc eos sine dilacione deliberari faciatis. Teste Rege apud

Westmonasterium, xvij. die Octobris.

<sup>2</sup> 1227. Monachi Belli Loci Regis intraverunt in novam ecclesiam cum magno gaudio in vigilia Assumptionis beatissimæ Mariæ (i.e. 14 August). *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 86), ii. 304.

<sup>3</sup> The same expression "intraverunt in novam ecclesiam" is used by the Waverley chronicler in connexion with his own church when the eastern parts and the quire were finished. *Ibid.* ii. 123.

That the church at Beaulieu was not finished is shown by a writ dated 24th May, 1233, six years after it was begun to be used, directing Peter of Rievaulx to let the abbat of Beaulieu have twenty oaks in the forest of Savernake, and twenty oaks in the forest of Bere, as a gift from the King "for the work of the church."<sup>1</sup>

The finishing of the building is probably fixed by its dedication on 15 Kal. Julii, that is, 17th June, 1246, by William, bishop of Winchester. There were also present the bishops of Bath, Exeter and Chichester, the King, the Queen, and their children, and many nobles.

The Waverley annalist records a curious incident that followed the dedication. The King's eldest son Edward, a boy of seven years old, fell sick and was obliged with his mother to stay nearly three weeks in the Abbey, contrary to the Statutes of the Cistercian Order, which forbade any woman staying the night. As a consequence, at the next visitation the prior and the cellarer were deposed from office "because by their permission this transgression seemed to be supported; and also because at the time of the dedication they had allowed meat to secular persons, contrary to the discipline of the Order."<sup>2</sup>

Before passing to the story of the buildings, attention may be called to an interesting letter which, although

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 17 Henry III. m. 9.

*De quercibus datis.* Mandatum est Petro de Bevat quod habere faciat abbati de Bello Loco xx. quercus in foresta de Savernake et xx. quercus in foresta de Bere ad operationem ecclesie sue de dono Regis. Teste Rege apud Theok'. xxiij. die Maii. *Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III.* A.D. 1231-1234 (London, 1905), 222.

<sup>2</sup> 1246. Dedicata est ecclesia Belli Loci Regis xv. Kal. Julii a domino Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, presentibus venerabilibus Bathoniensi, Exoniensi, Cicestrensi episcopis, presente etiam domino rege Anglorum Henrico quarto cum regina et liberis et magnatibus multis.

Peracta dedicatione, primogenitus regis, Edwardus scilicet, infirmatus est, cum quo regina mater ejus Alienora fere per tres hebdomadas in eadem domo contra Cisterciensis ordinis statuta pernoctando perendi-

navit. Quam ob causam in proxima visitatione sequenti, prior et cellerarius depositi sunt, quia eorum permissione hæc transgressio videbatur fulciri; insuper et quia tempore dedicationis sæcularibus contra ordinis disciplinam carnes administrabantur.—*Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 337. Matthew Paris puts the dedication as taking place in 1249:

Eodemque anno abbas de Bello Loco, Ordinis Cisterciensis, ecclesiam suam, quam rex Johannes a fundamentis construxerat presentibus rege Henrico III. et comite Ricardo fratre ejus et multis aliis magnatibus cum prelatiis sollempniter fecit dedicari. Cujus fundatio, simul cum alio memorabili, quod idem rex J. fecisse commemoratur, facto, animæ suæ multum creditur subvenisse. Quod huic pagine duximus annotandum. M. Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 44), iii. 63.

printed by Rymer in his *Foedera* ninety years ago, seems to be little known.<sup>1</sup>

It was written, probably in 1226, by King Henry III. to the Pope, Honorius III., and is in the following terms :

Be it known to your holiness that John sometime King of England, our father, of serene memory, founded the house of Beaulieu, as is known to many in England ; therefore in the same house he chose his burying place after the common death, and as it is said he solemnly vowed this ; but afterwards, in the time of the disturbance of England, a very serious strife having arisen between him and his barons, he died in remote parts, so that his body could not be brought to the said house, but the bishop and monks of Worcester, by the grace of hospitality, put the royal clod in their monastery. Since it seems likely, that if in his own house which he founded he could lie buried in his corporal presence, as he also himself disposed in his lifetime, the devotion of the brethren would be more frequently and more abundantly aroused to pray for him their common lord, and profit as we believe no less his aforesaid salvation. It might be very pleasing to you therefore that his vow might be fulfilled on this part, since we are bound to procure his salvation with the Lord in everything that we can. Wherefore also we beg your holiness that you deign to receive the petition of us and the brethren of Beaulieu aforesaid, which by the bearer of these presents they send to the feet of your holiness, for the bringing back of the body of the aforesaid King and our father, if it please you indulgently.

Whatever answer there was to this epistle it does not seem to have been preserved, and as King John's mortal remains still rest within the cathedral church of Worcester, the request of King Henry and the monks of

<sup>1</sup> *De corpore Johannis quondam Regis Angliæ ad domum Belli-loci, quam idem Rex fundaverat, deferendo.*

Domino Pape H. eadem gracia, etc. Innotescat sanctitati vestre quod serene memorie I. quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, domum Belliloci fundaverit, sicut pluribus notum est in Angliæ ; in eadem domo igitur sepulturam elegit post fata communia, et, ut dicitur, hoc sollempniter vovit ; set postmodum, tempore perturbationis Angliæ, orta gravissima simultate inter ipsum et barones suos, in remotis partibus diem clausit extremum, ita quod non potuit corpus ejus ad dictam domum deferri ; set Wigornienſes episcopus et monachi regiam glebam, hospitalitatis gracia, in suo monasterio collocarunt. Siquidem verisimile videtur, quod si in domo propria quam fundavit, corporali presencia jaceret

humatus, sicut etiam ipse disposuit in vita sua, fratrum devotio frequencius et habundacius excitaretur, ad exorandum pro eo communem Dominum ; et prosit, ut credimus, ejus non modicum predictæ salutis.

Placeret igitur vobis admodum, ut ipsius votum adimpleretur in hac parte, cum teneamur salutem ipsius in omnibus, quibus possumus, apud Dominum procurare. Unde et supplicamus beatitudini vestre, quatinus petitionem nostram et fratrum predicti Belliloci quam per latorem presentium ad pedes sanctitatis vestre transmittunt, pro corpore prefati Regis et patris nostri repetendo, benigne, si placet, admittere dignemini.

[Ex orig. in Turr. Lond. in Lib. cui. tit. Litteræ Regum, etc.]

T. Rymer, *Foedera, Litteræ, et Acta Publica* (London 1816) I. i. 192.

Beaulieu was apparently met with a negative. It is, however, possible that Pope Honorius III., to whom the letter was written, died just before or immediately after it reached its destination, and that it was passed over or overlooked by his successor.

The history of Beaulieu Abbey so far as its buildings are concerned is a complete blank from its dedication to its suppression.

Its clear annual value in 26 Henry VIII. was reckoned at £326 13s. 2½d.

The abbey was surrendered by Thomas Stevens the abbat, a time-serving wretch, and twenty other monks on 2nd April 29 Henry VIII. (1538). John Husee, writing to Lord Lisle (a natural son of Edward IV.) a week later, tells him that Bewley is suppressed and most of the land still in the King's hands, but the goods with the park and others are given to Mr. Wriothesley.

It was not, however, until 29th July following that the site, etc. of the abbey was granted in fee by letters patent to Thomas Wriothesley.

The greater part of the buildings seem thereupon to have been pulled down and the materials sold, apparently to be used in the new blockhouses then in course of construction on the adjacent seacoasts.<sup>1</sup>

The frater, however, was spared, through its conversion into a parish church for the numerous dependents of the abbey, and the cellarer's building forming the range west of the cloister was at any rate begun to be converted into a house. The outer and great gatehouses were also spared; all else was razed to the ground.

The site remained in possession of the Wriothesleys until 1671, when it passed by the marriage of Elizabeth, dowager countess of Northumberland, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, with Ralph, Lord Montagu of Boughton, who was created Duke of Montagu in 1705. The property descended from

<sup>1</sup> "1538. Certificate of Thomas Kanner, clerk, surveyor of the King's works, John Multon, master mason, and John Russell, master carpenter, to the lord Admiral, concerning the making of two blockhouses at Est Cove and West Cow in the Isle of Wight."

Accounts for "the carriage of stuff, taking down stone at the monasteries of Beaulieu and Quarre" etc. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.* XIV. i. 416 (No. 859).

him to the Dukes of Buccleugh, and finally to Lord Henry John Montagu-Douglas-Scott, second son of the fifth Duke, who was created in 1885 Baron Montagu of Beaulieu, and died in 1905.

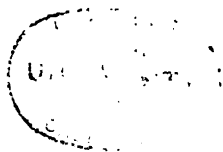
Some thirty years ago excavations were made on the site of the church by the Rev. F. W. Baker, but no record of them was published. The supposed plan of the church was laid out with gravel in the turf, but was so obviously inaccurate that the late Lord Montagu of Beaulieu was induced to make further investigation of the site under the direction of the writers during Easter week, 1900. The result was to clear up definitely the eastern part of the church and some minor points. This was followed by a series of further excavations extending over some years, so that at the present time all the chief buildings have been examined and planned as far as possible. The site of the kitchen, warming-house and south end of the dormer being within the parish churchyard their walls have mostly been destroyed by graves, while the buildings of the outer court, now covered by gardens, seem to have utterly perished.

The sites of the buildings, where possible, have been treated in a way worthy of imitation by owners of other historical monuments. The foundations, being in most cases all that remained, and therefore undesirable to be left exposed, have been marked out in the turf, and the spaces originally occupied by the walls they supported covered with white gravel so that the extent of the buildings may at once be seen.

### THE PRECINCT.

The site of every monastic house was enclosed by a boundary wall or dyke, and within the precinct thus formed were placed all the buildings of the abbey. Even "the stables of the horses must be placed within the circuit of our abbeys, and no house for habitation may be built without the gate, unless for animals, on account of avoiding the dangers of souls. If there be any, let





m fall; moreover, let all the gates of abbeys be within the bounds."<sup>1</sup>

The precinct at Beaulieu embraced roughly a square of about 58 acres, and the enclosing wall is traceable on all the east side. It is of the same nature throughout, 10 feet thick, built of rubble with an oversailing course 10 feet from the ground, and a gabled coping of small stones. It exists in two detached lengths on the north, for nearly 600 feet on the west, and for two lengths of 50 feet and 550 feet respectively on the south. The precinct is further protected on the west and south by the tidal river Exe; on the west this still washes the wall, but on the south there is now a high road which represents the old quay, still so called near the entrance gate, for landing and shipping merchandize. (Plate I.)

The main entrance, and so far as can now be seen the only one, was on the south, but whether it was approached by a bridge over the river as at present is doubtful. The outer gatehouse in the precinct wall gave on to a small lane, on the east side of which was the mill and at the north end the great gatehouse of the abbey. Inside the great gatehouse was the outer court, in which would be the guest houses, stables, brewhouse, malthouse, and workshops. In the middle of the precinct were the cloister and its surrounding buildings, with the church on the north, and the infirmary to the east. Eastward of these are two small fish ponds fed by a brook which enters the precinct at the north-east angle.<sup>2</sup> From the upper pond was taken the great drain of the abbey, which after passing westward beneath the buildings, turned due south and emptied into the river. This drain remains perfect under the east lawn of Palace House, and is 2½ feet wide, with a semicircular arched top springing at 18 inches from the bottom of the drain, which is flagged with rough stones.

North-west of the church have been found indications of inferior buildings. At some 350 feet to the north of the

<sup>1</sup> "Stabula equorum intra Abbatiarum ambitum collocentur, nec extra portam Monasterii aliqua domus ad habitandum construat, nisi animalium tantum, propter cavenda pericula animarum. Si quis fuerint, cadant; omnes autem portæ Abbatiarum sint extra

terminos." Cistercian Statutes, Ch. i. Vide *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, ix. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of the sluice from the bottom pond, at the head of the outlet to the river, have been found.



church is a barn-like structure called the "wine press," and the fields to the north-east of it are still called "the vineyards."

Southward of the claustral buildings is an open space, in which were found the foundations of a small house, perhaps one of the dwellings of the sanctuary men.

Beaulieu is unique among English Cistercian abbeys in having both the outer and inner gatehouses remaining perfect, the former being the lodge and the latter part of Palace House, the residence of the present owner of the abbey.

These and the other buildings found in the precinct will be taken in order before describing those surrounding the cloister.

### THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.

The outer gatehouse (Plate II) has its front in line with the precinct wall, and consists of a passage 12 feet wide and 14½ feet deep. The outer doorway has a single chamfered member with segmental head, and was merely protected by stout doors in two leaves. The inner side had a similar archway but without any doors. In the east wall is a small pointed doorway to the porter's lodge. Over this gateway is a room in the roof, which is steep pitched with gables over the archways, and is lighted at either end by three small lancet windows, one above and two below.<sup>1</sup>

The porter's room is on the east,<sup>2</sup> but has been much altered, the original having been covered by a pentise roof against the east side of the gateway, of which the weathering still remains. There are two corbels high up on the outside of the south wall, and beneath is the arched head of a drain just showing above the ground.

The whole gateway is slightly later than the original work of the abbey, being built on the top of a culvert in connexion with the mill, and the precinct wall seems to have been brought out of the straight to meet it.

<sup>1</sup> This room is now occupied by the works of a modern clock which is contained in a turret on the roof.

<sup>2</sup> There is now a corresponding room on the west, but it is quite modern.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.



From the outer to the great gate was a lane 200 feet long. The site of this, now part of the gardens of Palace House, was some years ago excavated and numerous remains of buildings were found, which fortunately were carefully planned. The lane itself was nowhere wider than 34 feet, and was bounded on the west by a wall, and on the east by a long range of buildings, from which a wall parallel to that on the west continued up to the great gate. On the west side, just within the outer gate, remains the parapet of a sparling between two culverts, to be described shortly, and at 54 feet from the gate the old precinct wall was found running westward. To the north of this a small late building had been added, for the erection of which part of the west wall of the court was removed.

There was a wall crossing the lane at 50 feet from the great gatehouse, and between them on the west side was a passage covered by a pitched roof; the weathering for this, with a trefoiled terminal, remains in the wall of the gatehouse, together with the toothing for the eastern wall on the western buttress.

### THE MILL AND GARNER.

The long building on the east side of the lane contained the mill at the south end.

The mill was 42 feet wide by 53 feet from north to south, and divided by a cross wall into two chambers. The south wall still stands as high as the eaves and formed part of the precinct wall. In line with it at each end are buttresses with chamfered plinths and steep weatherings, above which are the corbels and kneelers of the gable. There were two similar buttresses 16 feet apart on the south side, which have been destroyed, and behind them internally are corbels to take the framing of the roof. In line with the north and cross wall were also buttresses of which the plinths were found similar to those at the south end. In each chamber of the mill was an undershot wheel, driven by water taken in culverts from the river above. The northern culvert was 12 feet wide and the southern 9 feet, and both were found

perfect with arched tops. The outlets to the east were formed by two culverts in line with those to the west, but only 6 feet in width. The northern had an extra outlet 3 feet wide on the south side, and the culvert beyond was widened to 10 feet. Between the two outlets just outside the east wall was found a pipe formed of hollow trees.

All the constructions within the mill seem to have been of wood, considerable remains of which were found, though in a decayed state.

The only Cistercian mill that remains in England is the one still in use at Fountains, which, though much narrower than Beaulieu, was arranged with two chambers each containing wheels. The use of two wheels was apparently for grinding and sawing respectively. At Clairvaux the wheels for these operations were contained in two separate mills.

At Beaulieu, the side walls of the mill were continued northward for at least 110 feet to form a building of uncertain use. On the west side, at 34 feet from the mill, was a projection 19 feet square, which had a buttress at its south-west angle, and immediately to the south there seems to have been an entrance into the main building. In the east wall, almost opposite this, was a doorway from without 6 feet wide. Crossing the building almost in line with the north wall of the projection was a thick wall, apparently original. At 32 feet to the south of this was another cross wall, which was a later addition, and in the south-west angle of the chamber thus formed was a fireplace, inserted in the original entrance, and further north, at the back of the projection, were some foundations which seem like those of another fireplace. This room and the one to the south of it were paved with rough tiles.

Along the west side of the mill as far as the projection was a pentise, of which the outer wall was found.

The projection in question perhaps contained steps to an upper floor, and the whole block north of the mill was possibly a guest-house for the reception of tramps and other such folk, or a garner for corn.





**BEAULIEU ABBEY. SOUTH SIDE OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.**

**Before "Restoration," from a photograph by the late Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A.**

## THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.

The inner or great gatehouse has since the Suppression formed part of a dwelling-house. It consists of an outer porch and an inner hall with side bays and two parallel chapels above.

The main arch of entrance is pointed and of two members, with double ogee mouldings, of which the inner dies into the outer at the springing. (Plate III.) West of this was a small doorway for foot passengers, but this has been destroyed, except the lowest stones of the jambs, by the insertion of a post-Suppression window.<sup>1</sup>

The outer porch is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep and 38 feet wide, and covered by one square vault in the middle bay and by a narrower on each side. The vaulting, which is a modern restoration, is unusually rich, and has wall, cross, diagonal, ridge, and two intermediate ribs, all moulded, but without bosses at the intersections. The springers and wall ribs only are original, and these rest on semi-octagonal columns with heavy moulded capitals and bases; the corner columns are round.

The west wall has a small segmental headed doorway to some destroyed building on that side. The east wall has, high up, a single lancet window with wide splays.<sup>2</sup> The north side has, opposite the entrance, a fine pointed arched doorway of two members leading to the inner hall, and the bay towards the west has a smaller doorway of similar character for foot passengers.

The inner hall is precisely similar to the outer porch, except that it is 47 feet in width, through the eastern side bay being of the same size as the middle bay. The floor of this bay was at a higher level than the rest of the hall, and seems to have been parted off to form the porter's lodge, as remains of a fireplace were found in its north wall. In the south-west angle are the remains (now walled up) of a small doorway to a destroyed vice, contained in a projecting turret, now much altered, in the middle of the west side; this vice led to the upper floor.

<sup>1</sup> This window in turn has been removed and substituted by one in "the Decorated style"; a corresponding window being inserted to the east and

the entrance arch filled with a bay window at the same time.

<sup>2</sup> This has been renewed externally, and an ogee trefoiled head introduced.



The upper floor was entirely occupied by the gatehouse chapel. This is not the usual position for that building, but one is so placed at Whalley. At Meaux, though another gatehouse chapel existed, one was begun over the gatehouse by abbat Adam of Skerne (1310-39) but never finished, and so much as was built was pulled down by his successor.<sup>1</sup>

At Beaulieu the gatehouse chapel is really formed of two chapels side by side, agreeing with the divisions below. The entrance by the vice already mentioned was in the south-west angle of the northern part, and has a moulded and cusped arch.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that there was another entrance of more importance, either in the north or the west wall, gained by a straight stair from the outer court, but if so it has left no trace. The east window of the northern chapel is of three lights with heavy reticulated tracery under a square head. (Plate IV.) The present tracery is not original, but copied from the old.<sup>3</sup> In the south wall is a small trefoiled headed piscina.

The southern chapel is separated from the northern by two arches, each of two double ogee members, the inner of which dies into the outer at the springing. The middle pier<sup>4</sup> and parts of both arches are new, owing to the original having been destroyed by the insertion of a fireplace. The east window is of three lights filled with modern flowing tracery (Plate IV), which is said to have been copied from fragments of the original found in the blocking of the window. In the south side wall is a trefoiled ogee-headed piscina, with rosettes in the spandrels and little paterae on the hollow of the chamfer, under a moulded cornice, and there is an almary to the west with rebates for doors. The two windows in the south wall are modern, but appear to take the place of two original windows of the same shape which had been destroyed by the insertion of two sash windows. The west window is earlier in date than the rest of the work,

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Opening out of this vice at the chapel level is another but smaller vice up to the roofs.

<sup>3</sup> This is now preserved in the lay

brothers' dorter and is in sound condition, though slightly broken.

<sup>4</sup> This was originally a repetition of the respond, though now the outer order is carried by a column with moulded capital and base.



**BEAULIEU ABBEY. EAST SIDE OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.**



and consists of three lancet lights under a moulded arch with shafts to the jambs and mullions.

Externally the south front of the gatehouse has in the middle the main arch of entrance, the label of which is carried up to support the pedestal of a richly canopied niche,<sup>1</sup> probably for an image of Our Lady and Child. Flanking the archway are bold buttresses, resting on moulded plinths, with splayed angles having trefoiled stops at the top, and capped with steep weatherings. The wall is finished by a corbel table formed of human and grotesque heads, above which are two gables of post-Suppression work having three-light windows in each. The corbel table continues on the east and west sides, but is there surmounted by a low parapet. (Plate IV.)

Of the buildings usually contained in the outer court of the abbey not a vestige remains save a few detached foundations of inferior buildings at its north end, and although the open ground west of the northern end of the *cellarium* has been trenched, nothing was found there.

The principal group of buildings occupied the east side of the great court. On the north side of the cloister was the church. On the east side were the vestry, chapter-house, parlour, and sub-vaults, above all of which was the dorter of the monks, with a projecting reredorter on the east. On the south side were the warming-house, frater, and kitchen. On the west was the long *cellarium*, containing the lay brothers' buildings, but between it and the cloister was a narrow court or lane. Eastward of these claustral buildings was the monks' infirmary, consisting of a large hall, a chapel, a kitchen, and the misericord.

### THE CHURCH.

The church was usually one of the first buildings begun upon the foundation of an abbey, and at Beaulieu there are a few documentary notices of its erection. It was at first pushed on with moderate rapidity, during which time various grants are recorded on the Close Rolls (see *ante*).

<sup>1</sup> The niche is unfortunately only a preserved, and though mutilated is in copy of the original, which has been sound condition.

And in 1227, on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the monks entered their new church with great joy.

After this date the convent seems to have been left to complete the work by itself, as no further grants from the royal treasury are recorded, and it was not until 1246 that the church was ready to be hallowed.

The time the church of Beaulieu took to build, considering it was of royal foundation, seems excessive. The new church of Waverley, which was a very poor house, was 28 years in building, so far as to enable the monks to enter their quire, though 47 years more elapsed before the whole was finished. At Hayles, where the church was equal in size to that at Waverley,<sup>1</sup> it was finished enough to allow the monks to enter the quire five years after the foundation, though, of course, the nave was not done till later.

The church at Beaulieu covered a greater area than any other Cistercian church in this country.<sup>2</sup> It was 336 feet in length by 186 feet across the transepts, and in plan was unlike any English example, though almost the same as that at Clairvaux. It consisted of a presbytery having an apse with an aisle continued round it, and radiating chapels beyond; a north transept with east and west aisles and a galilee to the north; a south transept with eastern aisle; and a nave with aisles. There was probably a low tower over the crossing.

The whole of the building was systematically removed to the foundations by Thomas Wriothesley after the Suppression, and nothing now remains standing except the wall of the nave aisle next the cloister and one course of stones in the angle formed by the presbytery and north transept. The foundations, however, of the whole church remain, except of the extreme east end and part of the north wall of the nave aisle (which have been destroyed by a sunk ditch and a saw pit respectively), and have been

<sup>1</sup> This was before the new work for the reception of the shrine of the Holy Blood was begun.

<sup>2</sup> This was 30,857 square feet internally, and the other largest churches were:

	sq. ft.
Fountains ..	28,946
Byland ..	27,980
Rievaulx ..	23,952
Hayles ..	23,656
Waverley ..	23,577

completely traced by excavation. The main arcades were supported upon sleeper walls, but though search was made no impress in mortar of the pier bases was found upon them as at Waverley.

The presbytery, with the exception of the bottom course of ashlar of the plinth in the second bay next the north transept, has disappeared from above ground. It was of three bays with a semicircular apse, and was 75 feet long by  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide. Round about it was an aisle 12 feet wide, beyond which were ten chapels 11 feet deep. The sleeper wall for the piers of the main apse remains, but only the beginning of the foundations of the other two concentric walls, the rest having been destroyed by a sunk fence surrounding a modern house to the east. Fortunately, on the north side, the start of the dividing wall between the first and second radiating chapels was found, which shows that there were six radiating chapels in all.

In the middle of the presbytery, at about 6 feet from the centre of the apse and therefore just in front of the high altar, was found some years ago a body wrapped in lead without a stone coffin.

In the western bay of the south aisle was a lavatory on the north side (as at Hayles and Jervaulx, and behind the quire stalls at Roche and Fountains), the drain of which was found crossing the westernmost chapel.

The north transept is perhaps the most curious feature of the church, and the arrangement of the superstructure as indicated by the foundations is somewhat uncertain. The transept was 62 feet long by  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and of four bays with aisles on both the east and west sides.<sup>1</sup> The divisions of the aisle bays are indicated by sleeper walls.

Northward of the transept proper is another bay, which appears to have been a porch or galilee extending across both aisles and forming part of the structure of the transept, the main walls of which included this porch.<sup>2</sup> Above the porch the middle division was doubtless a

<sup>1</sup> At Clairvaux the western aisle was divided into chapels similar to the east, but at Cîteaux and Byland it was left open.

<sup>2</sup> At Clairvaux there was a low porch at the end of the north transept opening into the cemetery, and called, from its being used for burials, "la cimetière des Nobles."

gallery opening to the church, like the earlier examples in the Benedictine churches of Winchester and Ely. The whole arrangement is so unusual, but so similar to Cîteaux, that a plan of that transept to the same scale is given as a parallel. (Plate V.)

Externally the divisions of the transept and galilee were marked by bold buttresses, and there was a turret containing a vice on the north front in line with the main east wall.

The south transept was of the same size as the north, but had only an eastern aisle, also divided into chapels. The west wall was 12 feet thick and had in it the night stair to the dormer. The only other example of this unusual arrangement at present known to the writers is at Hayles.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the transept southwards in a corresponding position to the galilee were the vestry and library. As the wall south of these is of unusual thickness and the buttresses to the east are of similar size to those of the church, the upper works of the transept probably extended over them.<sup>2</sup> If this were so the structural transept would measure no less than 216 feet over all.

The nave was 188 feet long by  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide at the east and 34 feet at the west, and of nine bays. The absence of any buttresses at the west end in line with the main walls suggests that there was a porch or galilee across the front, although no remains of such have been found.<sup>3</sup>

A few fragments of the original pavement were found in the fifth bay, and a considerable amount at the west end. This latter was arranged in three divisions by bands running east and west, which terminated at 25 feet from the west wall in a cross band. This may indicate the western limit of the quire of the lay brothers. The middle division extended into the recess of the west door, showing that the doorway was of no great depth on the outside, but 13 feet in width.

In the middle of the first bay was a rough foundation 4 feet wide. This must have supported the *pulpitum*,

<sup>1</sup> The usual Cistercian arrangement was an open staircase against the west wall of the transept.

<sup>2</sup> This arrangement, though not known elsewhere in a Cistercian church,

occurs in those of Austin canons at Herham, Lilleshall and Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> At Cîteaux there was a western galilee as well as that across the front of the north transept.





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though its position is further east than might have been expected, as the quire would thus have completely occupied the space under the crossing and apparently extended one bay into the eastern arm of the church.

The north aisle of the nave was 13 feet wide. The foundations of a great part of its outer walls have been grubbed up to form a sawpit, now removed. The bays were divided externally by bold buttresses, of which that in line with the west wall was wider than the others. There was also a buttress projecting westward in line with the north wall.

The south aisle was of the same width as the north, and its outer wall remains throughout to a considerable height. It is 10 feet thick, without any projecting buttresses in the lower part, but probably above the cloister roof there were buttresses like those on the north side.

In the first bay is the entrance from the cloister, but on the church side this has been destroyed. Internally the bays were divided by vaulting shafts, which in all cases have been removed, except the semicircular stones forming their sub-bases. There was a string-course at 10 feet from the floor, above which each bay was recessed about 2 feet, and contained a pair of lancet windows. In the eighth bay is the moulded segmental rear arch, with carved capitals to the side shafts, of another doorway. The last bay contained an archway leading to the stairs of the lay-brothers' dorter, but this has been destroyed. Further westward is the eastern jamb of a small segmental-headed doorway that led to a vice in the south-west angle of the church; the lower part of which, with the ends of some of the steps, still remains. Externally this vice is square, and retains on its south and west sides the bold moulded plinth that surrounded the church.

### THE CLOISTER.

The cloister (*claustrum*) was the living-place of the convent, and all the buildings connected with the daily life of the monks were placed round it, and accessible from

it. These buildings are enumerated in their proper order in the directions in the Cistercian *Consuetudines*<sup>1</sup> for the Sunday procession, as follows: *capitulum* or chapter-house, *auditorium* or parlour, *dormitorium* or dorter, *dormitorii necessaria* or reredorter, *calefactorium* or warming-house, *refectorium* or frater, *coquina* or kitchen, *cellarium* or cellarer's building. These will be considered in their turns.

As its name implies, the cloister was an enclosed area, usually square, having a grass-plat in the middle, with covered alleys on all four sides. The alley next the church was practically the living room of the monks, where they sat and read when not engaged in the church or elsewhere. The other alleys of the cloister were chiefly passages, with doors opening out of them into the various offices already enumerated.

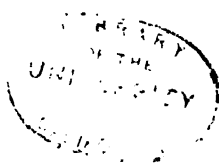
At Beaulieu the cloister was 138 feet from east to west by 137 feet from north to south. The alley roofs were carried towards the garth on walls 19 inches thick. That on the east remains for its full length, but only a few inches above the floor. Upon the walls stood a series of open arches carried on coupled columns with moulded capitals and bases, all in Purbeck marble. A number of loose fragments of these are preserved.

Since the cloister at Beaulieu lies on the south side of the church, its north wall is also that of the south aisle of the church. It is ashlar-faced throughout, and has in it seven large pointed recesses  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, the floors of which are 2 feet 9 inches above the cloister pavement. (Plate VI.) A stone bench, now gone, ran in front of them against the wall. The backs of the recesses are lined with ashlar, and the soffits are plastered and painted with red masonry lines. None of them shows any traces of fittings of any kind, but the first has a small chase cut in the back about 7 feet from the floor. These recesses, as will be seen from the plan, are purely constructional, in order to reduce the mass of the church wall in which they are set. The lower part of this was of greater thickness than the corresponding north wall to allow the buttresses between the aisle windows to be set upon it,

<sup>1</sup> *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesmes, 1892), 133.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. PART OF NORTH SIDE OF THE CLOISTER.



instead of starting from the ground and projecting into the cloister alley. A similar arrangement and series of recesses remains at Hayles. At Netley and Waverley it was managed by a tall range of arches *within* the aisle, in which at Netley the windows were set. The seventh or westernmost recess at Beaulieu, though built with the rest, was outside the cloister, as will be explained below.

The doorway from the cloister to the church is to the east of the recesses, and of three plainly moulded orders, with Purbeck marble capitals and bases for shafts now lost. (Plate VI.) On account of the thickness of the church wall it had behind the door, which was protected by a drawbar, a lobby vaulted with chamfered diagonal and wall ribs. Owing to a difference of level between the floors of church and cloister there is a broad flight of steps up to the doorway, round which are some remains of the original paving of square stone slabs set diagonally. (Plate VI.)

All along the north wall are two rows of corbels, an upper to carry the wall plate of the alley roof, and a lower for the principals that divided it into bays. The roof weathering also remains along a considerable part of the wall, and at the east end is a fragment of the weathering which occurred between the buttresses under the aisle windows.

In the east wall, immediately adjoining the doorway to the church, are the remains of a pointed recess, 5 feet 4 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and  $15\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep. (Plate VI.) The upper part, from 2 feet up, was grated with iron, and in the sill is a hole for a vertical iron bar. At the back are grooves for shelves at 25 inches and 42 inches from the bottom. For some distance southward the wall is plain, but at 32 feet from the angle there is a wide recess built in under the dorter stair. It is a rectangular vaulted chamber with moulded diagonal and wall ribs springing from shafts in the corners, of marble with foliated capitals. The original front has unfortunately been destroyed. The recess is 8 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, 4 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep within, and 9 feet high to the crown of the vault, and was raised nearly 3 feet above the pavement of the cloister alley. It formed the

*armarium commune* or common bookcase, wherein were kept books for use in the cloister.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the transept was a compartment about 63 feet long and 12½ feet wide, originally vaulted in five bays. The greater part of it formed the vestry and was entered directly from the church. It had of course an altar against the east wall, and towards the west there were recesses in the walls for cupboards. Unfortunately, only the side walls remain in part, and all traces of the doorway from the church have been obliterated by modern rebuilding. Along the south wall the lowest course of the ashlar facing remains for a considerable distance, which shows that the vaulting was carried by corbels. The north wall, though stripped of its ashlar, stands to its full height in the two western bays, and retains the toothing of its vaulting. The whole of the eastern end, except the footings of the buttresses, has been destroyed by the formation of a sunk ditch. A small portion of the flooring remains at the west end, of encaustic tiles of rough pattern and irregularly laid.

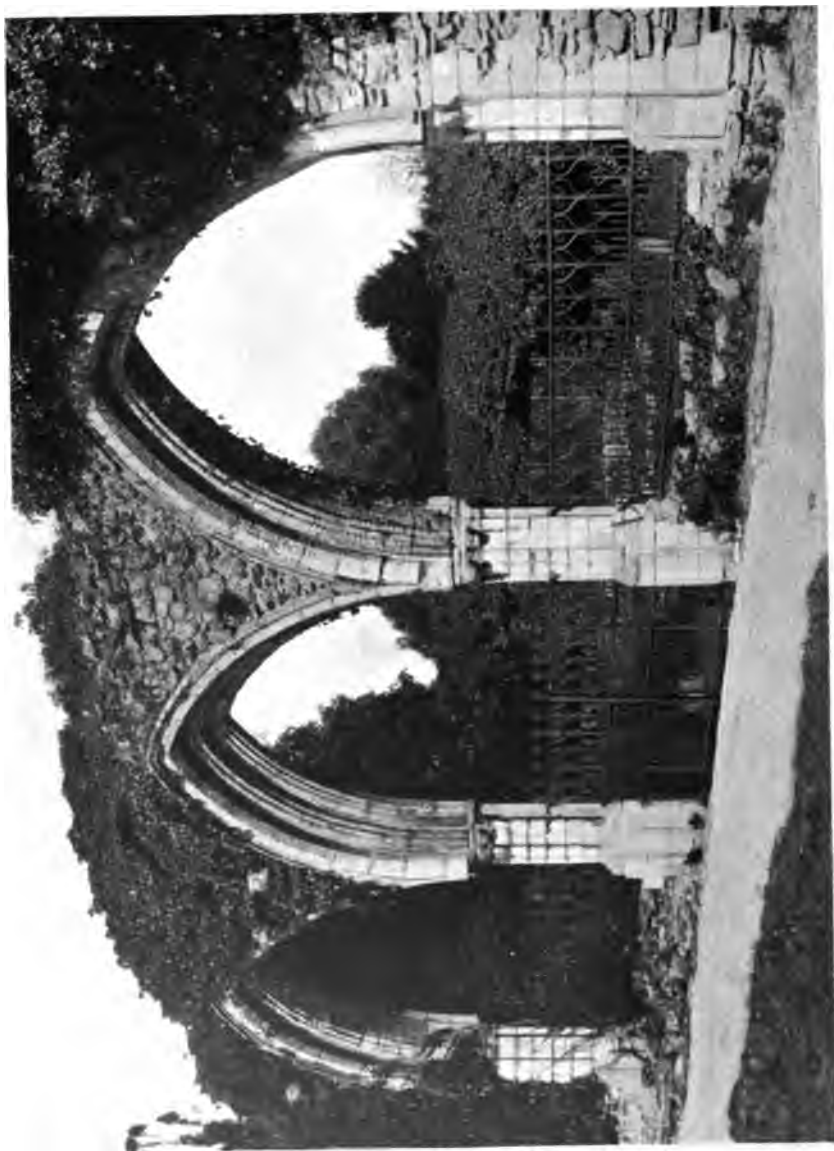
The westernmost bay was walled off from the rest, as at Roche, Netley, Jervaulx, Tintern, Kirkstall, and elsewhere, and entered from the cloister by a double doorway, now ruined to its bases, with doors opening outwards, an insertion of the fourteenth century within the original arch of entrance. This doorway, like that of the *armarium commune*, was brought forward to the front of the bench table below, which thus served as a step into it. The vaulting remains, but has lost its ribs, with the exception of the middle boss. The marble bases of the vaulting shafts remain in the western angles. The chamber itself formed the book closet or library of early times. Of that at Meaux, where it was called the *almarium commune*, a record has been preserved of how it was fitted up; there were four psalters in the top shelf over the door (*in suprema theca supra ostium*); nearly forty volumes stood on the uppermost shelf opposite (*in suprema theca opposita*); and

<sup>1</sup> In earlier times it took the form of a shallow recess lined with book-shelves, as at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Rievaulx, but as books became numerous more

room was wanted for them, and in later buildings the recess was enlarged accordingly, as in the example under notice.







BEAULIEU ABBEY. WEST FRONT OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

about 280 other volumes were placed on other shelves distinguished by letters of the alphabet (*in aliis thecis distinctis per alphabetum*).<sup>1</sup>

### THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

Next to the vestry and book-cupboard was the *capitulum* or chapter-house, so-called because in it was read daily after prime a chapter of the rule of St. Benedict. It was entered from the cloister by a tall pointed arch of three orders, the two innermost moulded and the outermost chamfered, carried by Purbeck marble shafts with pillars and bases of the same material. Flanking the entrance were two similar openings, but closed by dwarf walls with Purbeck marble sills  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. These openings were probably subdivided, but the subdivisions, as well as the innermost order in each case, have disappeared. (Plate VII.) The chapter-house itself was apparently four bays long, and divided into three alleys by rows of marble pillars, but all traces of these have gone. Against the walls was a double bench table, returned against the side openings of the west wall, and on the upper bench stood the vaulting shafts. The remaining fragment of the north wall shows that these were all of marble. The vaulting ribs were plainly chamfered. Two plain coffin lids lie in the second bay of the middle alley, and probably mark the burying places of two of the abbats. The east end and south side have been destroyed by the making of a sunk fence.

### THE PARLOUR.

Immediately southward of the chapter-house was the parlour, or *auditorium juxta capitulum*, where such talking as was necessary might be carried on instead of in the cloister, where silence was strictly enjoined. In this case, as at Jervaulx and elsewhere, the parlour served also as a passage from the cloister to the monks' infirmary on the east. Hardly anything of it is left except the entrance from the cloister, with its segmental plainly

<sup>1</sup> See the list in *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. pp. lxxxv-c.

chamfered arch. The lower part of the small eastern doorway, which can hardly be original, was uncovered during our excavations in Easter week, 1900. The parlour was  $34\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and covered by a barrel vault, which shows against the west end.

The ivy-clad wall which crosses the sites of the vestry, chapter-house, and parlour is wholly modern.

### THE DORTER SUBVAULT.

Extending southwards from the parlour for, probably, some 115 feet, was the subvault of the dorter. It was divided down the middle by a row of pillars into eight bays, and vaulted throughout; but as the greater part of its site is now included within the parish churchyard, it has been almost entirely destroyed with the exception of part of the north end and the base of a buttress in the middle of the east side. The western half of the northernmost bay retains the lower part of a doorway from the cloister, with plain chamfered jambs and a chamfered sill. In the angle within is part of one of the corbels of the vault. One of the square bases of the middle row of pillars also remains, apparently in place. It has spurs at the angles, and carried a column  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. A fragment is also left of the east wall of the same bay, with the lower part of a window. In line with the plinth of the buttress in the churchyard is part of a cross wall cutting off the three northern bays of the subvault.

### THE DORTER.

The great dorter (*dormitorium*) or sleeping place of the convent occupied the first floor over the chapter-house, parlour, and subvault to the south; but not a vestige remains of it except the bottom stones of the doorway, 6 feet 7 inches wide, at the top of the night stairs from the church and a fragment of the wall adjoining it to the east, which was lined with ashlar.

The arrangement of a Cistercian dorter can be best understood by the description of that at Clairvaux, which,

with the exception of having a vaulted roof instead of an open one of timber, was similar to our English examples : "At the end of the said transept are thirty or forty great steps . . . to the dorter of the religious. The whole is of stone and vaulted . . . The chambers are on both sides . . . and are made entirely of joiner's work, containing in length from 7 to 8 feet and in width 6 feet ; in all of which there is a bedstead with bedding, a little table and a shelf for writing, and the said chambers are ornamented with beautiful pictures upon canvas and furnished with tables relating to the devotion of each religious. In the door of each of these chambers is a window of two divisions, through which each religious going by the dorters is able to see his companion in his chamber ; the said chambers look upon the cloister."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the staircase to the dorter from the church, already described, for use at night, there was another for use by day at the east end of the south wall of the cloister. The opening to this in the wall was by a chamfered segmental arch  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, of which the springing stones and one jamb alone remain. The lower steps, of which eight remain, projected into the cloister quadrant fashion, and a small fragment of the original paving of square stones set diagonally remains at the foot, but has been much injured by a large tree which grew at this point.

### THE REREDORTER.

The reredorter, or *dormitorii necessaria*, a name which sufficiently explains its use, projected eastwards from the south end of the dorter. It was 28 feet wide and some 68 feet in length, with a drain about 4 feet wide, paved with rough stone slabs, traversing its southern side. The upper story, which formed the reredorter proper, was entered directly from the dorter, and had a series of garderobes over the drain divided from one another by wooden partitions ; but all remains of this have, of course, disappeared. Of the lower story the foundations of parts of the side walls have been recovered by excavation, but

<sup>1</sup> Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 228.

the east end has gone, and the junction with the dorter subvault is covered by the churchyard.

### THE WARMING-HOUSE.

Returning to the south alley of the cloister, next to the dorter day-stair, and westwards of it, there is one jamb, and the segmental relieving arch above, of a plain chamfered doorway. This opened into the warming-house or *calefactorium*, so called from its being the place provided with a fire, whereat the monks who were in cloister might come and warm themselves in winter. It was 40 feet long and 19 feet wide, and had at the west end a broad fireplace with projecting hood against the frater wall, wherein are also the moulded corbels of the vaulting which covered the room in two square bays. The south and east walls have gone and the area of the room is now laid open to the churchyard.

Over the warming-house was usually a vaulted room of doubtful use gained from the head of the dorter stairs. At Beaulieu, in what was its west wall, which is retained as part of the east side of the frater, are the remains of a segmental-headed locker, but all else has perished.

### THE LAVATORY.

Between the warming-house door and that into the frater are the remains of the lavatory, which, though of thirteenth-century work, is later than the rest of the buildings. (Plate VIII.)

Why the original lavatory was done away with in so short a time it is impossible to say ; but the new structure that superseded it must have been when perfect one of the finest of its kind in the kingdom. It consisted of three open arches of moulded members, supported upon columns, projecting beyond the wall face, and flanked at either end by small splayed arches back to the wall line. One-half of the western of the small arches remains and is carried next the wall by a delicately carved capital supported by the head of a man. The back of the lavatory is recessed into the wall, and opposite



BEAULIEU ABBEY. PART OF CLOISTER LAVATORY AND FRATER DOORWAY.



each column was a moulded cross arch, of which the westernmost remains, to carry plain transverse pointed vaults, without ribs, which followed the main arches. The back of each bay is slightly sloped on plan from the middle of each main arch to behind the piers that carried them. Along the back wall was a chamfered ledge, still partly remaining, with a groove, 3 inches wide, on top to take the pipe that supplied the lavatory with water from a long row of taps.<sup>1</sup> Beneath were the basons, segmental in form and very shallow, of which one remains, though not in position: these were carried on moulded capitals with truncated columns dying into deep-splayed plinths at the front and behind the piers of the main arches. The half-capital in the west corner remains in position, and some of the others, found loose, are temporarily placed near their original positions. There is a large hole in the middle bay for a waste pipe, and another near the east end.

### THE FRATER.

The *refectorium* or frater, which is the building enumerated next after the *calefactorium* in the direction for the Sunday procession, was the dining-hall of the monks. Although at first the Cistercian frater seems to have stood east and west, parallel with the church, as in Benedictine, Cluniac and Canons' houses, it became the practice about the middle of the twelfth century, for

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval way of washing the hands was not to immerse them in a basin of water as is the custom to-day, but to hold them under a running tap; the basin of a lavatory was therefore merely a dripper or sink from which the water was carried off by waste pipes. The lavatory at Clairvaux is described as "Une grande fontaine, dont le bassin est d'une pierre d'une pièce, ayant de longueur plus de quatre toises, et tout à l'entour gecte yaue par divers conduitz." (Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 231). That in the Benedictine house of Durham, which was excavated in 1908 (see *Archæologia*, lviii. 444 *seqq.*), was an octagonal structure of the thirteenth century, but within "made in forme

Round covered w<sup>th</sup> lead and all of marble saving ye verie uttermost walls. Within ye w<sup>ch</sup> walls yo<sup>u</sup> may walke round about y<sup>e</sup> laver of marble having many litle Cunditt<sup>e</sup> or spout<sup>e</sup> of brasse w<sup>th</sup> xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> Cokes of brasse Round about yt . . . ." (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society cvii, 82.) The Cluniac priories of Lewes and Wenlock had round and octagonal conduit houses respectively for the lavatory projecting into the cloister garth opposite the frater door. Although an octagonal structure of the same type occurs in the Irish abbey of Mellifont, no example has yet come to light in any Cistercian abbey in England, where the lavatory is invariably recessed in the wall on one or both sides of the frater door.



some reason at present unknown, to place it north and south, with the warming-house on the east and the kitchen on the west, and with only its end against the cloister. At Beaulieu, where the later arrangement was of course followed, the frater has fortunately been preserved complete, even to its roof, through its conversion at the suppression of the abbey into a parish church for the inhabitants of the surrounding district.<sup>1</sup>

It is entered from the cloister by a simply moulded doorway in its north end, of three orders, the two outermost of which are carried by marble shafts. (Plate VIII.) The door itself is ancient, and has some interesting original iron-work. Above the doorway are three lancet windows, the middlemost of which is broader and taller than the others, resting on the stringcourse over the alley roof. In the gable above is a square-headed light. Just behind the point of the gable, and perched astride the roof, is a wooden belfry, for the church bells.

Internally the frater is 30 feet wide and nearly 130 feet long. About 20 feet of its length at the north end is cut off by a screen, with gallery over, which forms part of the church fittings; but it is by no means certain that this does not represent a medieval partition in the same place. Under the gallery, to the west of the entrance doorway, is a large and deep locker, now converted into a window. Southward of the screen the east wall contains a range of six tall lancet windows, each having a moulded rear arch of two orders, both of which are continued down the jambs. Below the windows is a bold roll stringcourse carried all round the hall. The south end has a triplet of lancets with moulded rear arches enriched with dog-tooth ornament and carried by banded shafts. The west wall is arranged differently from the east, partly on account of the greater projection of the kitchen southwards than that of the warming-house, and partly because it contains the pulpit. Starting from the north there are, first two windows like those in the east wall, then the pulpit, and two other lancets beyond. The pulpit is reached by a narrow flight of eighteen steps in the thickness of the

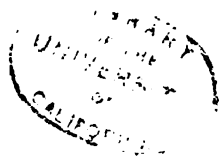
<sup>1</sup> A set of plans and drawings of the Beaulieu frater, with details, in illustration of a paper by Mr. Owen B.

Carter, was published in 1844 in the second volume of Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. PASSAGE AND STEPS TO FRATER PULPIT.







BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE FRATER PULPIT.

wall, entered at its north end by a wide pointed doorway with continuous mouldings, over which the stringcourse is carried as a hoodmold. The doorway opens into a vaulted lobby about 4 feet square, from which the steps ascend southwards. The staircase is covered by a stone vault with chamfered ribs springing from moulded corbels, arranged in two divisions of four bays and three bays, the latter being lifted  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the former. (Plate IX.) Towards the frater is an open arcade of six pointed arches arranged in two series of four and two, the latter being set upon a higher level, corresponding with the vaulting bays behind.<sup>1</sup> (Plate X.) The arches are moulded and rest on twin columns of marble with coupled capitals and bases of the same material. In the back wall of the staircase are three small lancet windows arranged symmetrically with the alternate openings of the arcade towards the frater. At the top of the steps is a lobby, with a wide arch towards the frater, covered by a half vault with moulded ribs. The arch is a plain pointed opening with hoodmold, and has an inner order with dog-tooth ornament carried by detached marble pillars. Projecting from the front of the arch is the pulpit, from which one of the monks read to his brethren during meals. (Plate XI.) It consists of a large semi-octagonal stone corbel, with flat panels decorated with rows of characteristic thirteenth-century leafwork carved in low relief. On the top of the corbel is a marble stringcourse above which is the parapet of the pulpit. This is also a half-octagon in plan, 5 feet in width, and of stone, but is of later date than the corbel on which it rests. Each side has across the bottom a band of sunk quatrefoils above which is an arcade of two cusped pointed arches, carried by engaged shafts, with trefoil sinkings in the spandrels. At each angle of the pulpit is a broad and shallow buttress with a trefoiled panel on the front. The date of this upper part is about 1300. The original parapet which it replaced was probably of wood.

<sup>1</sup> The third bay of the upper series of vaulted compartments abuts against a strip of wall to the south of the arcade. The other compartments correspond each to an arch of the arcade. The three northernmost arches

of the arcade, which are now of the same height as the next two, seem originally to have been taller and to have been carried by shafts resting on the level of the stringcourse below. See Weale, *op. cit.* Pl. III.

At the back of the pulpit is an early example of a traceried window, consisting of two trefoil-headed lights with a quatrefoil above. In the south wall of the pulpit lobby is a round-headed doorway. This leads to a small vice or circular stair, which once led up to the parapet, and may have been carried up as a little turret to hold the frater bell.

The frater is covered by a wooden ceiling of segmental section, but somewhat obtusely pointed, with transverse and longitudinal ribs with carved bosses at the intersections. The ceiling is divided into eleven bays, with a narrower or half bay at the north end, and dates apparently from about the end of the reign of Edward III. The roof seems to be of lower pitch than the original one.

Externally the frater is divided as regards the east side by boldly projecting buttresses into three bays of unequal widths, each containing a pair of windows. A fourth or northernmost bay was overlapped by the warming-house. The south end has an original buttress on the east, but only a modern substitute on the west. Effectually blocking the middlemost of the three lancet windows is a huge buttress, set up in 1746, under a mistaken idea to stop the movement southward of the roof couples, which had fallen over at the apex to such an extent as to threaten the destruction of the gable.<sup>1</sup> (Plate XII.) Behind it may be seen in the gable the traces of a large round window, which once surmounted the lancets below. On the west side of the frater all the four buttresses are modern, and the only ancient projection is the little turret in connexion with the pulpit.

### THE KITCHEN.

The northern part of the west side of the frater was overlapped for about 34 feet by the *coquina* or kitchen, but this has been so destroyed that little can be said

<sup>1</sup> Lord Montagu of Beaulieu has a report made by a surveyor at the time, who suggested putting diagonal braces to the roof on both sides, which was done, and adds, "I must observe, that when the roof is well secured with

Braces, there will not be great need of this Buttress but as I found the Foundations of it already lay'd down and Raised to the Height of ye Plinth I did not presume to stop the workmen proceeding without your Grace approbation."



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE FRATER PULPIT.









BEAUVAIS ABBEY. THE FRATER (NOW THE PARISH CHURCH), FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

about it. Its site, moreover, is covered by the churchyard, and excavations are therefore impracticable. The north wall, which was common with the cloister, is standing to a considerable height, but the facing on the kitchen side has been removed, and towards the cloister nothing can be traced beyond part of the relieving arch over the place of the kitchen door. In the east end of the kitchen, which abutted against the frater, is the hatch for passing food through, and beside it is a modern doorway into the church. The hatch is formed by a three-centered arch, of three chamfered members on both sides of the wall, and is 3 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide by  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches high in the clear. (Plate XIII.)

#### THE CELLARER'S BUILDING.

The western side of the cloister is bounded, not by a building, but by a wall, now much broken down and only remaining in part. At its south end is an inserted Tudor doorway; a few feet further north is a blocked window; then, some distance beyond, another window cut down to make a rude doorway. Two corbels to carry the cloister roof remain above these openings. The northern half of the wall has gone, save for a low fragment adjoining the church. In this are the remains of a doorway with three descending steps into the cloister.

On the western side of the wall was an open court or lane  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide. At its north end is the seventh of the recesses in the church wall. The sill of this has been cut down, and in the back a doorway inserted, of two moulded orders carried originally by marble shafts, with foliated capitals, and bases of the same material. (Plate XIV.) The details of the doorway so closely resemble those of that from the cloister into the church that it must be regarded as an afterthought and not a work of later date. At the opposite or southern end of the lane is a doorway with segmental head into the kitchen or its yard.

The western side of the lane was bounded by a range of buildings, which extended from the church southwards for more than 270 feet. This is the building called in the *Consuetudines* the *cellarium*, a loose term which gives no

clue to its actual use, since it practically included all those parts of an abbey under the control of the cellarer. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt that in a Cistercian abbey the *cellarium* was for the accommodation of the *conversi* or lay brothers; their frater and other offices forming the ground story, while the upper floor was their dormer.<sup>1</sup>

As the division of the abbey buildings into two great groups for the use of the monks (*monachi*) and lay brothers (*conversi*) respectively is a feature peculiar to the Cistercians, a few words on the difference between the two classes may make matters clearer. Both *monachi* and *conversi* were equally monks in that they had taken the three monastical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The *monachi* spent their time in church and cloister, and never left the abbey precincts except in cases of necessity. They were not necessarily priests, although in course of time most of them became so, and then their life differed little from that of the regular canons. The *conversi*, or *fratres laici* as they were also called (in contradistinction to the *monachi*, who were *fratres clerici*), were practically monks who could not read. They were not necessarily of humble origin, but might be, and often were, men of good family who desired to enter the monastic life, and being unlettered could only do so by becoming *conversi*, in which condition they always remained, since a *conversus* could never become a

<sup>1</sup> In the Yorkshire house of Meaux, after describing the building of the monks' dormer and the rest of the eastern range, the chronicler of the abbeey states that the fourth abbat, Alexander (1197-1210), "*refectorium conversorum* ab abbate Thoma inceptum perfecit; et domum superiorem, scilicet *dormitorium eorumdem*, inchoavit." [*Chronica de Melsa*, i. 826]. The *dormitorium conversorum* was finished by the fifth abbat, Hugh (1210-1220) [*Ibid.* i. 380]. Its position is fixed on the west side of the cloister by two entries: one recording that abbat William (1372-1396) leaved *inter alia* part of the monks' cloister "*ab ostio refectorii monachorum usque ad dormitorium conversorum*" [*Ibid.* iii. 224]; the other that abbat Burton (1396-1399) "*ipsam pariem claustrum a dormitorio monachorum*

*usque ad dormitorium conversorum juxta ecclesiam* (i.e. the north or church side of the cloister) fecit tabulis plumboque reparari" [*Ibid.* iii. 241]. At Kirkstall [Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel), v. 531] the first stone buildings are recorded to have been, besides the church, "*utrumque dormitorium monachorum scilicet et conversorum, utrumque etiam refectorium, claustrum, et capitulum, etc.*" that is, all the buildings round the cloister, and since the positions of the monks' dormer and frater are known, there is no doubt that the frater and dormer of the *conversi* formed the western range. The *dormitorium conversorum* is mentioned in the *Annales de Crokesden* among the buildings erected by abbat London (1242-1269). [Cott. MS. Faustina B. 6, f. 74.]



BEAULIEU ABBEY. SERVING HATCH BETWEEN THE KITCHEN AND THE FRATER.



*monachus*. They had charge, under the cellarer, of all the secular and external affairs of the monastery, and many of them lived in the granges or farms, which they worked, under the direction of obedientiaries chosen from among themselves. When resident in the abbey, as some of them always were, they kept certain of the hours in the church like the monks, and at the same time, but inasmuch as they could not read they substituted for the regular quire offices certain prayers and psalms which they learned by heart.

As the nave of the church was the quire of the *conversi*, the buildings for their accommodation, which included a dormitory, frater, infirmary, etc., were in immediate connexion therewith, just as the monks' buildings adjoined their part of the church.

The great size of the buildings for the *conversi* has often been commented on. Nothing is known of the number of inmates of the abbey at Beaulieu, but at Waverley at the end of the twelfth century there were 120 *conversi* and 70 monks, and at Louth Park during the second quarter of the thirteenth century 150 *conversi* and 66 monks. At Meaux in 1349 the *conversi* were only seven in number, all of whom died of the great pestilence, as well as 32 out of 42 monks then in the abbey. After the middle of the fourteenth century the *conversi* in this country seem as a class to have died out, and to have been replaced by hired servants and labourers; probably because the gradual spread of education and other causes had extinguished the class from which they had been formerly drawn. Meaux is one of the few English abbeys where they are known to have been continued, but their number is not recorded, and in the time of abbat William of Scarborough (1372-1396) they all struck work and were superseded by monks.<sup>1</sup> Their buildings were then put to other uses. At Hayles the *cellarium* had been converted into the abbat's lodging for some time before the Suppression, and a similar thing

<sup>1</sup> "Ejus tamen tempore, *conversi* omnes de monasterio defecerunt; pro quorum numero monachos supplevit, et annuum pensum pro victu conventus augmentavit. Infirmitoria *conversorum* et sæcularium ab incolis et invalidis destituit. Coquinam infirmitorii con-

versorum diruit, ac aliam coquinam antiqui hospitii in cameram super polanyhat reformavit, et pentitium deinde usque ad magnas portas construxit, quod de capella extra portas fecerat amoveri." *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. 229.



seems to have happened at Ford, where the sumptuous hall and other apartments of the abbat's house built by abbat Chard in 1525 still remain in a most perfect state, extending westwards from the former site of the *cellarium*.<sup>1</sup>

The *cellarium* at Beaulieu consisted of two parts, of unequal size, divided by a passage or entry from without, opening into the middle of the lane. The northern part, which is much the smaller, was a cellar, four bays long, lighted on both sides by narrow square-headed loops.<sup>2</sup> It is entered from the cloister entry by a pointed doorway, but just to the right of this was another entrance direct from the lane, with a segmental rear arch, now walled up outside. The original vault has been taken down and replaced, in post-Suppression Tudor days, by a heavy barrel vault of a single span, starting from the floor along each side. At the north end may be seen the plinth of the western part of the church. The cloister entry is 12 feet wide and has a pointed doorway on the west with segmental rear arch.<sup>3</sup> Its eastern doorway was similar, but has lost its pointed head. The passage is covered by a simple barrel vault. To the south of the inner doorway of the entry is another of similar character into the southern part of the range, beyond which southwards is the relieving arch of a wide pointed recess, lately underbuilt for strength with two round-headed arches. It probably marks the site of a lavatory for the lay brothers to wash at before meals. Beyond it again is a rough modern doorway.

Along the eastern side of the *cellarium* towards the lane was a pentise, of lesser height than the cloister roof, carried on corbels. Under this, a little to the north of the entry doorway, was the day stair to the lay-brothers' dorter, now represented by a modern double flight of steps leading up to the dorter door. This is 6 feet from the ground, and the stair was continued through it up to the dorter level. There was another doorway of similar

<sup>1</sup> See a paper by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, published by the British Archaeological Association in *Collectanea Archaeologica*, ii. 145-159.

<sup>2</sup> The northernmost in the east wall

has been mutilated to serve as a modern entrance.

<sup>3</sup> The foundations of a porch outside this belong to a projected but uncompleted work of the late Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. LAY-BROTHERS' DOORWAY TO CHURCH.



character, but at a higher level, to the south of the lavatory recess, the jambs of which remain in part.

The doorway next the entry opens into a lofty vaulted undercroft of two bays, which is all that is left of the lay-brothers' frater. This was originally six bays long, and covered by a quadripartite vault with chamfered ribs springing from corbels in the side walls. In each bay of the west wall, except the fourth, which is blank, was a tall lancet window. The two remaining bays are cut off from the ruined portion beyond by a wall, against which is built a huge Tudor fireplace.

In the north wall are two large round-headed lockers side by side.<sup>1</sup>

The south wall of the lay-brothers' frater formed one wall of the pit of their reredorter over the drain, which reredorter must have been contained within the range similarly to that for the monks at Kirkstall.

The rest of the range southwards has been much interfered with after the Suppression, at which time it was covered by a double barrel vault carried on a dividing wall, and had a story added above. At the south end, however, there remains a fragment of the west jamb of a deep splayed window which had a relieving arch over it, and in the west wall are six of such arches, though the windows below have been removed. The north wall is much ruined. As the upper part of the west wall is of post-Suppression date, it appears that the range southward from the drain was originally of one story only, and it probably served as the lay-brothers' infirmary.

Over the *cellarium*, from the church to the drain, extended the dorter of the lay brothers, which, as far as the Tudor wall with the fireplace, still retains the side walls to their full height. It was entered on the east by the northern of the two doorways already described, and had on the north a straight flight of steps into the church, for those attending the night offices. The well of these steps still remains, with three of the upper steps and the broken-off ends of the rest. Owing to the vault over the frater being higher than that over the cellar to the north, the floor of the southern half is raised some 3 feet above the

<sup>1</sup> The room is now used as a museum. It contains a number of architectural fragments, the more important of which are described below.

rest. The north wall is entirely of post-Suppression work, and has in it two two-light transomed windows. The north end of the west wall, owing to the removal of the south-west turret of the church, was rebuilt at the same time, but the rest of it, except for the insertion of three later openings, remains entire. It apparently had a series of ten square-headed loops with segmental rerearches to the northern part, of which six remain, and there are three others of less height over the remaining bays of the frater. The north wall seems to have been rebuilt in the main, and retains no original features besides the two doorways. The whole block as far as the Tudor fireplace is covered by a tie-beam and purlin roof, of which the first three bays from the north seem to be medieval, as the tie-beams are chamfered and painted red, whereas the remainder is unwrought.

In late monastic days two gardrobes were added outside the west wall, one just to the south of the entry doorway and another forming a buttress to the third cross rib of the frater vault; the basements of the pits remain. Other buttresses were added on this side against the remaining cross ribs, of which the plinths of the fourth and fifth remain. The northern gardrobe was approached by a small square doorway under what was the eighth window of the dormer, opening on to a wooden passageway outside the wall to the gardrobe itself, but owing to the destruction of the upper wall the manner of entrance to the southern gardrobe is lost. The addition of these gardrobes indicates that the original use of the *cellarium* had been changed, and perhaps, as at Cîteaux and Hayles, it became the abbat's house and place of entertainment for superior guests.

#### THE MONKS' INFIRMARY.

The monks' infirmary (*infirmatorium*) was required not only for the temporary accommodation of the sick, but, as its name implies, for the permanent housing of the infirm, who were physically unfit to endure the rigorous life of the cloister, and the aged who had been professed fifty years (*sempectæ*). In the Benedictine Order, and among some of the Canons, those who had been let blood

(*minuti*) were allowed to go into the infirmary for a time after that weakening process, which took place four times a year, but the Cistercians were not allowed this privilege. The infirmary buildings consisted of at least a hall, a chapel, and a kitchen, and in this country were generally placed to the east of the dormer range.<sup>1</sup>

The infirmary at Beaulieu was approached from the cloister by a wide passage in continuation of the parlour, and consisted of a great hall placed north and south, though not parallel with the dormer; a chapel on the east; and a kitchen to the south. There was apparently some building to the north which has been destroyed by the return of the sunk fence that caused the removal of the eastern part of the great apse of the church.

### THE INFIRMARY HALL.

The infirmary hall had completely disappeared from above ground, but the foundations of all the walls, except the north, were found by excavation in 1901, and a considerable part of the west wall to a height of some 2 feet above the original floor.

The hall was 118 feet in length by 40 feet in width, and was divided into eight bays by cross arches of stone carried by piers projecting into the hall.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth bay from the north is much narrower than the rest, apparently on account of the arches having carried a lantern or louver over a fire in the middle of the hall. In the west wall of this bay is the main entrance, formed of two members, the outer of which was carried by marble jamb shafts, the bases of which remain. In the second bay on the west is a projecting block, apparently of original work. Opposite this on the east side is another block projecting into the hall, from which a drain runs northward. In the sixth bay is a doorway with a

<sup>1</sup> At Furness the infirmary was in later days built to the south of the cloister, owing to the contraction of the valley to the east.

<sup>2</sup> No other example of this construction for the infirmary hall has as yet been found in this country, though it may easily have occurred, as only ten out of the seventy-six Cistercian infirmaries in

England and Wales have left remains or been excavated. A foreign example occurs at Fossanova in Italy. (C. Enlart, *L'Architecture Gothique en Italie*, 108.) In this case the cross arches of stone still exist, though the buttresses are external, so that the space for the beds is lost.

single moulded member which led to the chapel. In the middle of the south end of the hall is a fireplace, but whether original or an insertion it is impossible to say, as only part of the hearth remains.

Immediately outside the entrance doorway were found the second step with rounded end and indications of the bottom and third step of a flight of stairs against the west wall of the hall, which appear to be of original work. These seem to have been returned at the top towards the east, and supported by the block of masonry in the second bay of the hall already described. If these steps were original, then the northern end of the hall had an upper story, probably over the first two bays.

In the fifteenth century alterations were made in the hall, as was the custom at other places. A wall was built in line with the fourth cross arch from the north, with a fireplace in the middle. Another fireplace was added in the second bay in the west wall, which shows that the northern end of the hall was divided into rooms.

At the north-east angle of the hall was found the beginning of a wide wall running eastward, which appears to have belonged to some demolished building at the north end of the hall. This may possibly have been the visiting abbat's lodging, which would be gained by the staircase already mentioned.

#### THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL.

The infirmary chapel was on the east side of the hall and entered by the doorway in the eighth bay already described. It was 42 feet long by 18 feet wide, and had double angle buttresses to the east end. Nothing except the entrance doorway remained above the foundations, and these had been grubbed up in places.

#### THE KITCHEN.

At the south end of the hall were some fragmentary remains of a building that had a large fireplace in its east wall. The north jamb of this remained some three courses in height, and was chamfered on either side.

In the same wall northward next the infirmary hall was a doorway from without, of a single chamfered member, into a passage separating the room with the fireplace from the hall. In this passage wall, which is only  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, is a wide doorway with a single chamfered member. These remains evidently belong to the infirmary kitchen, which must have been built up to the east end of the reredorter; but its extent southward is doubtful.

Just at the back of the kitchen fireplace was a square block of masonry containing the pit of a garderobe, which shows that the space to the east of the kitchen was occupied by a two-storied building; but as no definite foundations of it were found, it may have been of timber construction. Further to the east were found some stone-built drains running from the kitchen eastward.

The passage connecting the infirmary with the cloister was  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, but has mostly been destroyed except a short length of its north wall. On the south side, close to the infirmary door, was found a block of masonry  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet long by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide, with a chamfered plinth on the south side and both ends. On the north side was a moulded base, stopped with a chamfered return at 18 inches from either end. This block probably supported the conduit to which the water supply of the convent was brought before being dispersed to the various offices.<sup>1</sup> From this main passage there must have been another as far as the church as at Fountains and Jervaulx, and this is marked by a patch of tile flooring found just to the east of the chapter-house. On the east side of this passage were the foundations of two small rooms and the beginning of a third to the north, which had a fireplace, but there was nothing to indicate the date of them, and they may possibly be post-Suppression.

### THE MISERICORD.

Adjoining the staircase on the west side of the infirmary hall was a building 18 feet wide, of which both the side walls were found, but the north end had gone in consequence of the same ditch that destroyed the north

<sup>1</sup> A similar feature has recently been found at Waverley, and there is a conduit chamber in the corresponding position at Fountains.



wall of the infirmary hall, and of the south end nothing remained save a short return in connexion with the east wall. From its size and position this building was probably the misericord, which with the Cistercians came into use towards the end of the fourteenth century.

Up to that period the Cistercians, together with other reformed Benedictines, adhered strictly to the rule of St. Benedict, which enacted that no flesh meat be eaten except by the sick, and only by them during the time of their sickness.<sup>1</sup> No alteration of this rule occurs in the Statutes of 1256, but within the next hundred years, owing to the granting of numerous pittances, and the degeneracy of monastic fervour, things had so far changed that the Cistercians were allowed, by a privilege of Pope Benedict XII. in 1335, to eat meat in the infirmary, and by invitation of the abbat in his lodging.<sup>2</sup> Further relaxations occurred in later years, so that by the middle of the fifteenth century it was the custom to partake of meat three days in the week, namely, upon Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, excepting in Advent, Septuagesima, Lent, and other seasons of fasting. But though meat was allowed as a permanent luxury, it was not to be partaken of in the frater, which necessitated the provision of a special hall for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> As the infirmary was the place where meat was first allowed to be eaten, this hall, or misericord as it was called (from *misericordia*, an indulgence), was often in connexion with the infirmary, as at Clairvaux, Fountains, and Waverley, and the food was served from the infirmary kitchen. At Kirkstall, Ford, and some other English houses, the frater itself was divided by a floor into two fraters, one for use upon meat days, the other on ordinary days; the misericord, which was the lower hall, being served from a new kitchen erected specially for that purpose.

At Beaulieu, when the misericord was erected, a passage was probably built from opposite its south end direct to the infirmary kitchen, as suggested on the plan.

<sup>1</sup> *Regula St. Benedicti*, xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 552.

<sup>3</sup> *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 484.

## THE WINE-PRESS.

About 300 feet north of the church are the ruins of a large building, placed east and west, having a projecting wing to the north.

The east and west portions retain the gable ends to their full height, but the side walls are ruined to the

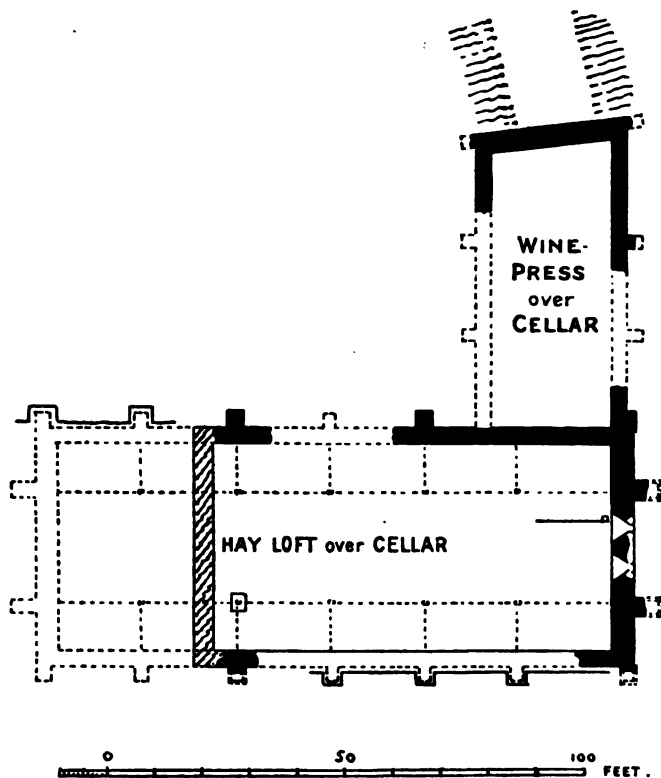


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE WINE-PRESS.

ground except for two short lengths on the north. The building was originally 118 feet in length by  $43\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, but was shortened in later days by 34 feet at the west, and the present west gable is of this alteration. The original was divided by wooden posts into a nave with aisles, six bays in length. Opposite each post on the north and south sides was a boldly projecting buttress with a chamfered plinth, and at the east end were two

buttresses, larger than the side ones, opposite the lines of the posts. The whole was raised upon a wooden floor over a cellar, which had two windows in the east wall and probably stone piers to support the posts above.

The northern wing was 60 feet long by  $25\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and also raised upon a cellar. It was divided into three bays by buttresses, of which the two northern on the east side have left remains. From the end of this wing is a raised earthen causeway to the upper floor from the higher land to the north, called "the vineyards" beyond the precinct. No indications remain of the way by which any of the buildings were entered or connected.

For many years these ruins have been known as "the wine press," and that such was the use of part of them is highly probable. The grape was cultivated for the production of wine in this country from early times, and it is extremely probable that the first inmates of Beaulieu, coming direct from the wine country of Burgundy, would take advantage of the warm climate of their new possession for the preparation of their native drink, rather than content themselves entirely with the beer their brethren in less favoured sites were compelled to drink. The only Cistercian wine press of which there is any record is that at Clairvaux, which was described in 1517 as being

a great hall for the wine pressing and fermenting places, in which there are several large tuns, one of which is square, containing from four score to a hundred hogsheads, and the descent is to be noticed from the vineyard, which is behind the said fermenting place, into this fermenting place for bringing the vintage to the tuns.

The wine goes by lead pipes into the tuns, which are in a cellar adjoining, in which cellar is a great tun containing 400 hogsheads of wine, that is 30 feet round and 18 in height.

Besides, there is a great cellar all vaulted in stone where are innumerable tuns of wine for the use of the religious, and they pay each year for the yield of the vineyards of the same abbey from 1700 to 1800 francs; also there are in ordinary years 1,700 to 2,000 hogsheads of wine, and there are still other cellars and caves well furnished.<sup>1</sup>

Also the plan of the abbey of about the seventeenth century shows the wine-press to have been some 70 feet by 40, with a great building at right angles to it for the storage of hay. This arrangement is very similar to the

<sup>1</sup> Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 237.

Beaulieu example, where the wine-presses and fermenting vats could have been in the northern wing with a cellar beneath, and having "the descent from the vineyard" still remaining. The main part of the building would be the hayloft above the great cellar for the storage of the wine.

At about 130 feet southward of the monks' reredorter were found the foundations of a small house. This consisted of a single room  $26\frac{1}{2}$  feet from north-east to south-west by  $21\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide, and apparently constructed of timber, as the foundations, which were very rough, varied from only 18 inches to 2 feet in thickness. In line with the north-west wall were small buttresses, and in the south-east wall at the south end was a fireplace  $7\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide, having chamfered jambs. To the west of this room was found a hearth, but with no walls in connexion. It is suggested that the small house just described was one of a series which occupied the spare ground between the claustral buildings and the precinct wall to the south, for the accommodation of the sanctuary men.

### THE SANCTUARY.

It has been commonly asserted that the privilege of sanctuary was conferred upon the Abbey of Beaulieu by Pope Innocent III. There seems, however, to be no authority for the statement, and the register of that Pope does not contain anything relating to Beaulieu. The privilege of sanctuary, moreover, intimately connected as it was with the *renunciatio regni*, was a matter that concerned the King of England rather than the Bishop of Rome, and whatever powers the Abbey of Beaulieu possessed ought to have been by royal grant. That the abbey had the privilege of sanctuary is certain, but when and by whom it was granted is not clear. In 1427 the sanctuary at Beaulieu is coupled in the proceedings in Parliament<sup>1</sup> with those of Westminster and Culham, and the abbey preserved its powers down to the Suppression.

<sup>1</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (London, 1767-77) iv. 321.

Among the numerous documents in the Public Record Office that refer to the suppression of the monasteries there are several interesting letters relating to the sanctuary at Beaulieu. The first is addressed to Thomas lord Crumwell by the commissioners entrusted with the suppression of the abbey, and is dated 3rd April, 1538 :

Pleaseth it your Lordshipe to be adv'tised yesterdaie we Resayved the Surrender of this Monastery and from that tyme have and doo travale for the dispeche of all other thinges as dilygentlie as we may Therbe Sayntuary men here for dett felony and murder xxxij many of them aged some very seke they have all w<sup>th</sup>in iiij<sup>r</sup> wyves and childern and dwellinge howses and ground wherby the lyve w<sup>th</sup> their famylies whiche beyng all assembled befor hus and the Kinges hignes pleasure opened to them they have verye lamentable declared that if they be nowe send to other saynturies not onlie they but their wyves and childern also shalbe utterly undon and therefore have desired us to be means for theym with your lordship that they may remayne here for terme of their lyves so that none other be Resayved and bycause we have by exaiacon certeyne knowlege that the great nomber of theym w<sup>th</sup> their wyves and childern shuldbe utterly cast a waie their age impotency and other thinge considered yf they be sent to any other place we have sent this berear unto you besechinge your lordshipe we may knowe the Kinge pleasure by you herin whiche knowen wee shall accordinge to our most bownden duetes w<sup>th</sup> all diligenc' accomlishe the same as knoweth our Lord who have your Lordship in his blyssed kepinge from Bewley the iij daie of Aprill

Yo<sup>r</sup> lordeshippes most<sup>e</sup> assurede to cōmaunde  
Richarde Layton prest

Yo<sup>r</sup> lordeshippe most bownden beademan and s'vant  
William Petre

Yow<sup>r</sup> pou<sup>r</sup> man John ffreman.<sup>1</sup>

The second letter is from Thomas Stevens, the late abbat of Beaulieu, to Thomas Wriothsley, the grantee of the abbey, and is dated 16th April :

1HS.

After my hertye Recōmendaçons/ this is to desyre you to be good and singler Mast<sup>r</sup> to thes por men p'vilegyd in the Sañctuarye of bewley for dette/ w<sup>che</sup> ar in ther behavoyr very honest men & hathe so bene in all the tyme/ I beyng there power gov'n'/ & dowzt not but the wyll evyn so cōtinew/ hereafter/ whos namys bethe cōteynynd w<sup>th</sup> in ther supplycacon/ & in that po<sup>r</sup> towne the thynke to lyve honestlie/ & to go from the same shalbe ther utter undoyng & no pfit to the towne for when they be gone the howsys wyll yeld no Rent but stond voyde and decay as god know<sup>t</sup> who p's've yow<sup>r</sup> m'shype to

<sup>1</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII. Vol. 131, f. 13.

yo<sup>r</sup> plesur and herte desyre w<sup>t</sup> increase of . . . o<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup>yn at yo<sup>r</sup> hows  
of leon'de th . . . of ap<sup>r</sup>il

Yo<sup>r</sup> chaplen and bedemā  
Thomas Stepyns late abbat of bēwley

*Endorsed :*

To My very syngler good M<sup>r</sup>  
M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Withesley esqre deliv' thys w<sup>t</sup>  
speede.

*Docketed :*

Thabbot of Beaulieu to  
Mr. Wrioth xvj Aprilis.<sup>1</sup>

The third letter was written on 17th April, also to  
Wriothesley, from John Crayford :

Right wo<sup>r</sup>shipfull after most harty cōmendaçons thies shalbe in most  
humble wise to besech you to tender the lamentable petiçon and  
Supplication of thonely most wrechyd and miserable Detto<sup>r</sup>s at  
beaulyeu/ so pensiffe and hev<sup>y</sup>/ ffer steppyd/ in age/ of long cōtinuance  
ther/ lodon w<sup>t</sup> wyffes and childer/ who (wo faile yf they shall depte)  
must be cōpelled to begg and failing of foode in a sanctuary of smale  
compasse/ must other langed ther bodyes and slender goods in goyng  
abrode or dey for hungar The holle Inhabitants of beaulyeu (few  
excepted) be sanctuary men The morderers and fallons woll incont-  
nently and w<sup>t</sup>out any further sute/ as hopeles men depart/ the Rest be  
detto<sup>r</sup>s of good behav<sup>r</sup> and right quyet emongst ther neighbours and  
both can and woll ffynde substanciall and honest men for ther good  
abering during ther liffe and abode ther/ yt war an excellent and an  
hiegh dede of charite to pcure licence of the Kinge grace ther to tary  
w<sup>t</sup> wife and childer/ not by vertue of thold Sanctuary ther/ but be  
new ptection under the Kinge greate seale/ The obtençon herof shuld  
much soundeth yo<sup>r</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>ship and cōmende yo<sup>w</sup> hieghly unto tholle  
countree in thes ptes/ wher yo<sup>w</sup> unseen/ and unknowen be moch  
regarded, etc. etc.

*Docketed :*

Ion Crauford xvij<sup>o</sup> Aprilis to Mr. Wrioth'.<sup>2</sup>

The fate of the sanctuary men is indicated by a note  
among Crumwell's *Remembrances*,

The sanctuary men at Beaulieu for debt  
to continue there for life.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wriothesley Letters and Papers,  
f. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII.  
Vol. 131, f. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Cott. MS. Titus B. 1, f. 465.

It is evident from the text of the foregoing letters that not only the immediate precinct of this abbey, but anywhere within the bounds of its surrounding lands was reckoned as sanctuary. It is clear, too, that although there may have been some lodgings for sanctuary men inside the precinct, the majority of them lived outside, with their wives and children, and their dwellings practically formed the village of Beaulieu.

The letters quoted add nothing to the architectural history of the abbey.

### THE WATER SUPPLY.

A copious supply of pure water was a necessity of every abbey, and, where possible, it was procured by gravitation, which in the case of the Cistercians, who invariably built in valleys, was not difficult to obtain. The great importance attached to a good water supply is apt to be overlooked, but wherever chronicles of individual houses exist, great stress is always laid upon it, and to it alone are due the only existing medieval plans of monasteries, namely, those of Christ Church, Canterbury, of about 1150,<sup>1</sup> and of the London Charterhouse, of about 1430.<sup>2</sup>

At Beaulieu the water has always been obtained from springs in the high ground to the east of the abbey, which the confirmation charter of Edward III. calls "the spring-head of the waters of Shireburn, that extend as far as the aforesaid abbey of the King's Beaulieu."<sup>3</sup> The supply is still used for Palace House and the village. The springs are collected into a conduit and conveyed thence in pipes by gravitation. The conduit house, which is apparently the original one of the thirteenth century, is circular on plan, 12 feet in diameter, with a plain domed ceiling, and is entered on its west side by a small shouldered doorway, 22 inches wide and 5 feet 3 inches high. The external covering of the dome, if it ever had any, has been

<sup>1</sup> R. Willis, *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* (1869), 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, lviii. 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 683. (Cart. 2 Ed. III., m. 4, n. 80.)

destroyed. The original welded lead pipes were in use to a short time ago, but owing to constant burstings they have been superseded by iron. The original pipes led directly to the cistern or conduit in the infirmary, already described, and from thence the water was distributed by lead services to the various offices of the monastery.

### THE FISH PONDS.

Another usual necessity of a monastery was a constant supply of fish, which was generally obtained by a series of ponds or stews in the near neighbourhood, even when excellent fishing rivers were at hand. With the Cistercians, however, fish was prohibited, except to the sick, until the thirteenth century, so that accommodation on a large scale for their rearing and storage was not required until that time.

At Beaulieu the arrangement of the stews is still clearly marked, though all are now dry. On the north side of the precinct two narrow valleys converge from the north and north-east with streams running down each, the latter being the old Shireburn. The stews, of which there were at least six, apparently four up the north valley<sup>1</sup> and certainly two up the Shireburn, were formed by earth banks across the valleys. To some of the ponds there appear to have been side channels so that an upper pond could have been emptied without interfering with the lower. In addition to these stews up the valleys there are two smaller ponds already mentioned just to the east of the claustral buildings, which were probably for the storage or cleansing of fish for immediate use.

### BUILDING MATERIALS.

Owing to the convenient position of Beaulieu upon a tidal river, the whole of the building materials not obtainable on the spot could be brought by sea. Most of the stone was so brought, the freestone for external

<sup>1</sup> The topmost stew of this series has of recent years been used again for rearing fish, though on modern lines in small tanks.



work from Binstead, next Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, the freestone for internal work from Caen in Normandy, and the marble for columns, capitals, and bases from Purbeck.

The walling generally was of rubble formed of wasters from the Binstead and Caen blocks mixed with beach boulders, and had freestone dressings throughout, though the church walls seem to have been faced with ashlar both inside and out. All the important doorways had columns, capitals, and bases of marble, and the continuous arcades of the cloister were of the same material, but otherwise marble was sparingly used.

The mortar is of a poor quality and made with coarse gravel.

The roofs of most of the buildings were covered with slate, fragments of which were found during the excavations on the outside of walls in great quantities; it was of a poor quality, of uneven thickness, very shaley, and probably came from Cornwall.

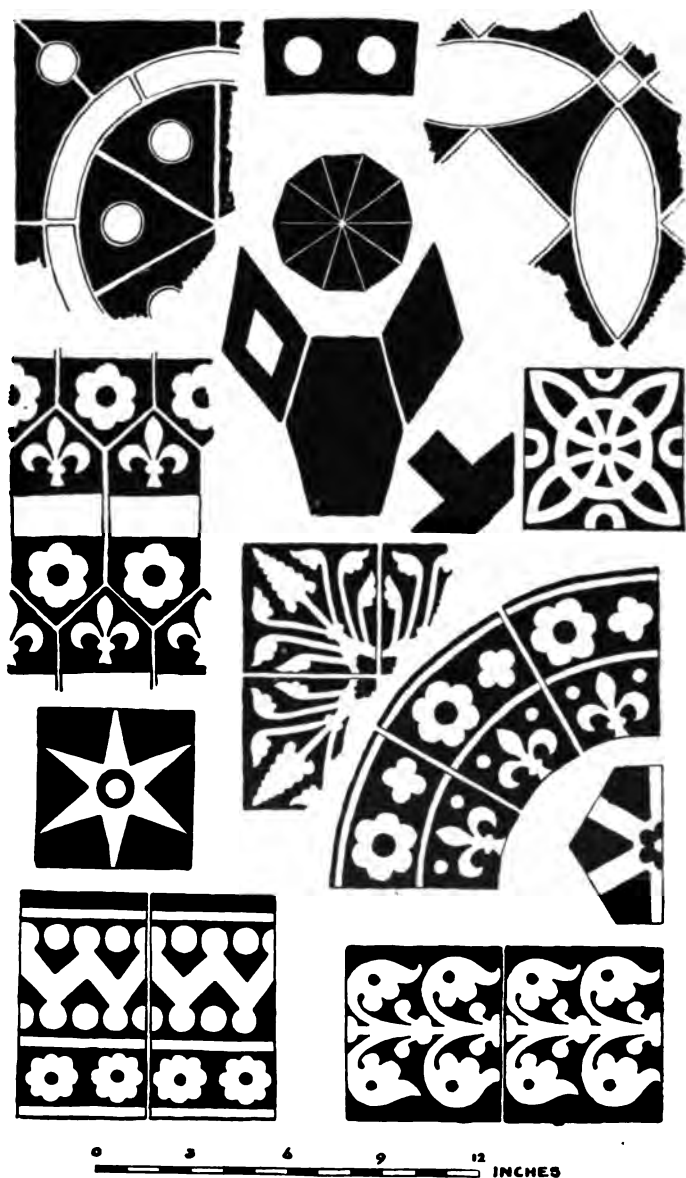
The floors of the church and some of the more important buildings were laid with tiles of a fair quality, which appear to have been made near the site, as clay is still dug which burns to a similar texture. Besides the patches already mentioned in the description of the buildings, numerous examples have been unearthed at various times and a number are preserved in the lay-brothers' frater and in the floors of the two garden houses opposite Palace House.<sup>1</sup> The accompanying four plates (XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII) illustrate the majority of the patterns that have been found. Some few of them, such as the griffin, eagles, and fleur-de-lys may be heraldic, but most are of foliated designs, the border patterns being the most unusual.<sup>2</sup> A curious series is that formed of hexagonal tiles bearing rings and cross

<sup>1</sup> These "curious" pavements were contrary to the rule of the Order, and at the General Chapter of 1218 it was decreed:

"Præcipitur ut omnis varietas pavementorum de ecclesiis nostris infra sequens capitulum amoveatur. Ab eo tempore abbas in cujus domo illud emendatum non fuerit, ad capitulum generale veniat super hoc veniam petiturus."

Martens and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iv. col. 1322.

<sup>2</sup> At Netley precisely similar tiles have been met with (vide *Collectanea Archaeologica*, ii. 72), and if the supposition that they were made at Beaulieu be correct, it is interesting to show that the monks did not make tiles only for their own use.



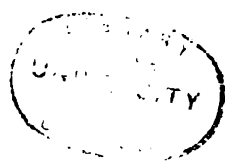
BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.



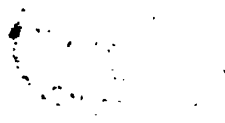


BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.













BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.

lines. The other shaped tiles, some plain and others with patterns, are unusual in the south of England, though the former are frequently met with in the north, in great variety at Fountains and Rievaulx, and the latter at Jervaulx. The cloister floors were paved with hard stone in squares set diagonally.

### VARIOUS REMAINS.

Nothing in the shape of curiosities has been found in connexion with the various diggings undertaken by the writers, but, as already mentioned, there are various architectural fragments in the remaining piece of the lay-brothers' frater, together with three grave slabs and a so-called double heart coffin.

The most important of the grave slabs is placed on the floor on the east side. It is of the early part of the fourteenth century and consists of a Purbeck marble slab, 10 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch long by 2 feet 9 inches wide. In the middle is the casement for a brass effigy, under a cusped and crocketed canopy, with sideshafts and pinnacles formed in white stone inlaid in the marble slab. The canopy had a brass finial formed of a crown, and on either side of it shields also of brass. Round the edges of the slab, marked by incised lines, is a wide band, which contained at the head of the slab an inlaid strip of white stone with incised lettering, and at the sides and foot little squares of inlaid white stone each containing an incised letter. Most of the inscription, owing to the soft nature of the white stone, has been worn away, but part on what was the north side reads: **JESV CRIST : OMNIPOTENT : FI . . . .** The other two slabs are fixed to the north wall on either side the lockers. The one to the right is of the end of the thirteenth century, and is of marble, 7 feet  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 2 feet 10 inches wide. It has in the middle the casement for a brass effigy of a lady, of a date about 1320, under a cusped canopy with side shafts and pinnacles and two shields at the head. Surrounding the slab was an inscription of which the beginning only is legible: **+ HIC : IACET : YSABELLA : PRIM . . . .** The remaining slab is also of Purbeck marble, 6 feet 5 inches long by 32 inches wide at the

head, tapering to 23 inches at the foot. It is perfectly plain but has an inscription round the edge : + **DAV|N : WILLAME : DE : CORNWAILL :| GIST : ICI|: DEV : DE SA : ALME : EIT : PITE : ET : M|ÆRCI.**

From this it can be identified as having covered the body of Dan William of Cornwall, a prior of Beaulieu, who was elected abbat of the daughter house of Newenham in Devonshire on 12th September, 1272. He died in 1288 and was buried at Beaulieu.<sup>1</sup>

Within one of the lockers is preserved a small coffin, said to have been found near the great gatehouse, wrought out of Binstead stone. It is 1 foot 11½ inches in length, tapering from 14½ inches to 12½ inches, and is 9¾ inches deep. It contains two heart-shaped sinkings, the one 10½ by 8¾ inches and 7 inches deep, and the other 9½ by 7¾ inches and 6 inches deep. The slab that covered it is 3 inches thick. In one of the sinkings was a green glazed ornamental vase 6 inches in diameter. The coffin was doubtless for the reception of the heart and entrails of some distinguished person whose body was buried elsewhere.

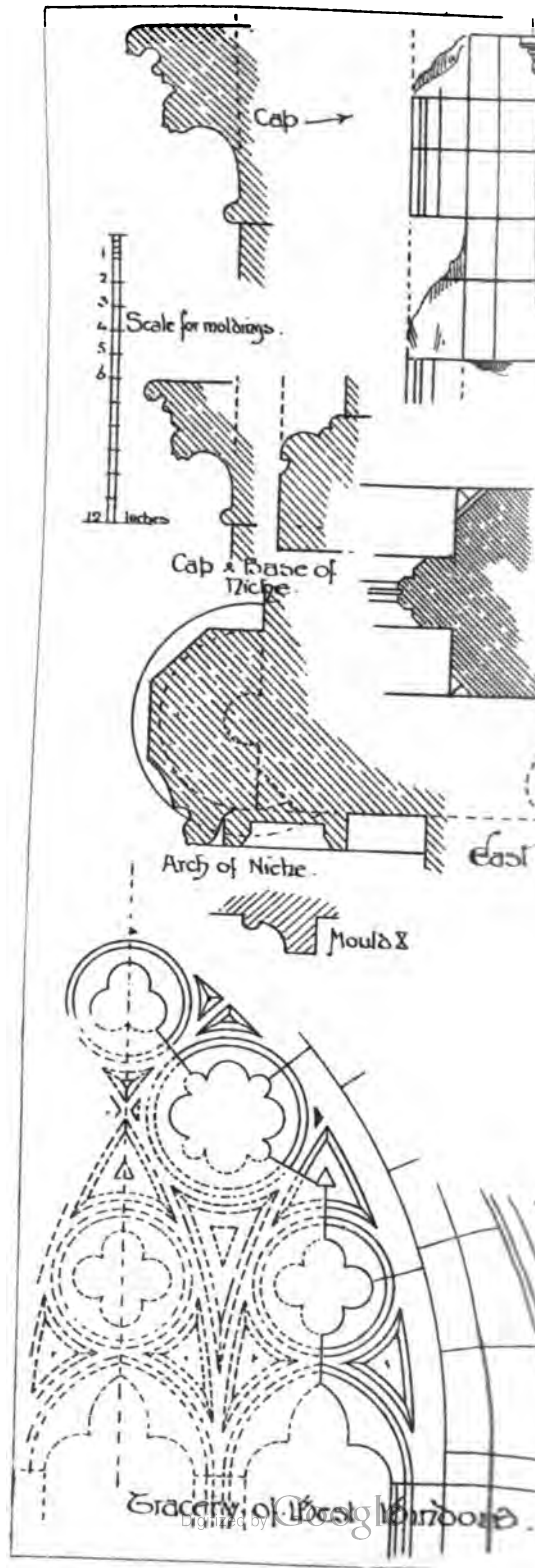
### SEALS.

Of the first seal of the abbey no impression seems to be known.

The later seal, an impression of which is appended to the deed of surrender in the Public Record Office, dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. It is circular, 2¾ inches in diameter, and has across the middle, on a low wall of masonry, a series of three broad niches. The middlemost, which is taller than the others, contains a seated figure of Our Lady, crowned, and holding the infant Saviour. The side niches each contain five monks, two in front being on their knees and three others standing behind. Of the figures in the dexter niche the foremost is the mitred abbot with his crosier. In base, under a wide three-centred arch, is a shield of the abbey arms, *a crosier encircled by a crown*, and on either side of it, on the

<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 693. Register of Newenham,

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masonry, are a fleur-de-lys and a leopard respectively.  
Legend :

• *Sigillum : comune mon | afterii : belli loci : regis :*

### GRANGES.

On the large manor of Beaulieu the monks had granges at Herfords, Otterwood, Bockelodginge, and St. Leonards. All but Bockelodginge are represented by farms of the original name, but Bockelodginge cannot be identified with certainty. St. Leonards is the only one of the four of which any remains are left, and these consist of a chapel and barn.

Granges with the Cistercians were complete little monasteries occupied by lay brothers under officers elected from themselves, and sometimes a few monks. Scarcely any have left remains, but the principal buildings are mentioned in connexion with Causton, a grange of Pipewell, namely, a cloister, a chapel, dorters with reredorters for monks and lay-brothers, a frater, a kitchen, and some private chambers.<sup>1</sup>

At St. Leonards the chapel was a detached building, of late thirteenth century date, of which all the walls remain to their full height, save half the north and the east gable. (Plate XIX.)

The east window, of which the jambs and springing of the arch remain, was originally of four lights with rerearch carried on small columns with moulded capitals and bases. It is flanked on either side by a large niche with pinnaced side shafts and trefoiled head under a straight-sided pediment terminated by a foliated cross. (Plates XIX and XX.)

The side walls had each two single-light windows, but the outer dressings have gone, and on the south side the wall is broken away above. On the north side the wall between the windows has been destroyed to within a few feet of the ground, but at 9 feet from the east wall is a locker with shouldered head and grooves for a wooden shelf at half height. Next the east end on the south side are remains of a wall-drain and

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MS. Otho B. 14, f. 154b.

another locker similar to that on the north. Beneath the windows is a continuous stringcourse, and at the top of the walls was a hollow stone cornice to take the wall plate of the roof. At the west end at 9 feet from the floor are two corbels in each wall to carry a western gallery 5 feet wide under the west window.

The west end shows the stringcourse of the side walls stepping up to above the gallery floor, over which is the west window, moulded as the east, but retaining its arch and a considerable amount of the tracery in connexion; from this it is possible to reconstruct the window. It was of three lights, with concentric arches springing from each mullion, with the spandrels filled with quatrefoils, octofoils, and a trefoil, respectively. Under the window was a doorway, the freestone of which has been entirely removed.

Externally the east end has double buttresses at the angles with a plain plinth course round them and along the east wall. The west end has buttresses in line with the west wall, and one, with steep weathering, on either side the west window. A similar plinth course to the east is continued round the west end.

In the early part of this year (1906) the ground to the north of the chapel was lowered to form a sunk garden, but little of importance was found. At 18 feet from and parallel with the chapel was a wall 4 feet 9 inches thick; this continued from the line of the east end westward for 31 feet, at which point a wall 2 feet wide ran northward for 16 feet. At about 7 feet from both walls was found the fragment of what seemed to have been a hearth.

The present house is about 50 feet to the north of the chapel, but does not seem to be in any part ancient, though it has a single-light fifteenth-century window reused at either end of a long passage on the first floor.

South-eastward from the chapel are the remains of a great barn  $216\frac{1}{4}$  feet long by  $61\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide. Of this the east gable, north wall, and part of the south, with half the west gable, remain to their full height. The barn was divided into seven bays by wooden posts which, as



ST. LEONARD'S GRANGE. NORTH-EAST CORNER OF CHAPEL.





shown by corbels in the end walls, were  $14\frac{3}{4}$  feet from the side walls, forming a nave with aisles. Opposite each post were buttresses to the side walls and other larger ones, opposite each line of posts, to the gables. There is a large segmental doorway  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide with the valves opening outwards in the middle bay on the north side, and to the west a smaller doorway opening inwards. Both doors seem to have been protected by a porch, the beginning of the side walls of which remain as buttresses. The only windows seem to be two narrow square-headed loops high up in each gable.

### DAUGHTER HOUSES.

Though not referring directly to the architectural history of the abbey, a short notice of the houses that owed their origin to Beaulieu may not be out of place. As Beaulieu itself was founded late in the history of Cistercianism, and long after the edict of the General Chapter that no other houses of the Order were to be founded, it follows that its daughters were also of late origin. In fact, the two that have left remains, together with the mother house, form a most interesting group of what the ultra-severe Order was doing in the way of building towards the end of the thirteenth century when the builders were unshackled by pre-existing buildings. Four abbeys were colonized from Beaulieu :

1. NETLEY, two miles south-east of Southampton, was founded on the 25th July, 1239, by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and the value at the Suppression was £100 12s. 8d. Very considerable remains of the church, the eastern range of buildings, and a detached house to the east are left, but are in a deplorable condition through the unchecked ravages of ivy.
2. HAYLES, two miles north-east of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, was founded on the 17th June, 1246, by Richard, king of the Romans, and the value at the Suppression was

£357 7s. 8½d. Part of the north, east, and south walls of the cloister remain, and excavation has revealed the ground plan of the church and some of the other buildings.

3. NEWENHAM, one mile south-west of Axminster in Devonshire, was founded on the 6th January, 1247, by Reginald de Mohun, and the value at the Suppression was £227 7s. 8d. Only very small remains exist.
4. ST. MARY GRACES, next the Tower in London, was founded on the 20th March, 1350, by King Edward III., and the value at the Suppression was £547 and 6½d.

The dates of foundation given above are taken from the *Origines Cistercienses*<sup>1</sup> and the values at the Suppression are the clear returns of the Commissioners, 26 Henry VIII. (1534-5), as given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Leopold Jansuschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I.* (Vindobonae, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII.* (London, 1810 etc.), Vols. i and ii.



## SOME NOTES ON WORCESTERSHIRE BELL-FOUNDERS.

By H. B. WALTERS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1901, I had the privilege of reading before the Diocesan Architectural Society a paper on the *Church Bells of Worcestershire*, in which I dealt at some length with the various bell-founders who at one time worked in the city or county, and with their existing remains. This paper was subsequently printed in the Report of the Associated Archaeological Societies for that year. I do not therefore propose now to do more than bring forward a few items of additional information which have come under my notice.

First to claim our attention is a group of bells of pre-Reformation date<sup>2</sup> distinguished by bearing what are known as "Royal Head" stamps, or reproductions of the heads of Edward III. and Queen Philippa, as stops between the words of the inscription. Of these there are ten in the county, including three in the tower of St. Swithin, Worcester, and two or three in each of the adjacent shires. Their geographical distribution clearly points to Worcester as the centre from which they emanated, and their date, which I had previously conjectured to be the early part of the fifteenth century, has now been established by further research.

The required evidence is yielded by a bell which may be considered the most remarkable of the whole group: the tenor at Bitterley, Salop. This bears the inscription:

+ IÉZV (K) LÉ ZÉIGNÉ (K) ZÉVNT (Q) ANNE (K) PER  
LÉ ORDYNARÉ (K) ALÉIS ZTVRY

(K) QVÉ DIV (K) AZOILLÉ (K) PVR ZA GAVNT  
(K) MÉRQV

with the heads of the King and Queen (indicated where they occur by K and Q) as stops between the words.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Meeting of the Institute on the 7th November, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Report*, xxv, p. 562 ff.

The letter S is reversed throughout; the T is Roman, not Gothic in form. The translation is as follows: "Jesu the Lord (and) Saint Anne, by the ordinance of Alice Stury, whom God pardon of his great (*gaunt*=*grande*) mercy." It is not only interesting as an almost unique instance (on a bell) of an inscription in Norman-French,<sup>1</sup> but for the mention of its donor, Alice Stury. Now this lady can be proved to have a close connection not only with Bitterley<sup>2</sup> but also with Worcestershire. She was patroness of the living of Hampton Lovett near Droitwich, and founded a chantry there in 1414,<sup>3</sup> which she dedicated to St. Anne, her patron saint (as appears also from the Bitterley bell). We gather also that she died shortly after, in 1415, bequeathing some plate to John Baysham, Rector of Hampton Lovett 1396-1412, who in his will, dated 1426, orders masses to be said for her soul. We cannot say exactly when the bell was given to Bitterley, except that it was before 1415; but she would naturally have ordered it from the neighbouring foundry of Worcester.

Plate I gives the initial cross and the heads of Edward III. and his Queen as found on these bells (Figs. 1-3), and specimens of the lettering (4-12).

Another obviously local group,<sup>4</sup> of which there are no less than thirteen examples in the county, must, I think, come next in point of date. The only feature they have in common with the preceding group is that two of them (at Spetchley and Stanford-on-Teme) bear the Royal Head stamps. But the initial cross (Plate II, Fig. 1) was formerly the property of a Salisbury founder, John Barber, whose name occurs on a bell at Chittern, Wilts. He died in 1403, and his will, unearthed by Mr. A. D. Tyssen, has recently been published by the late Dr. Raven.<sup>5</sup> It mentions one Peter le Brasier as his successor, and we may therefore assume that with the

<sup>1</sup> Norman-French appears to have been favoured in England about this time for inscriptions, cf. a bell at Long Stratton, Norfolk.

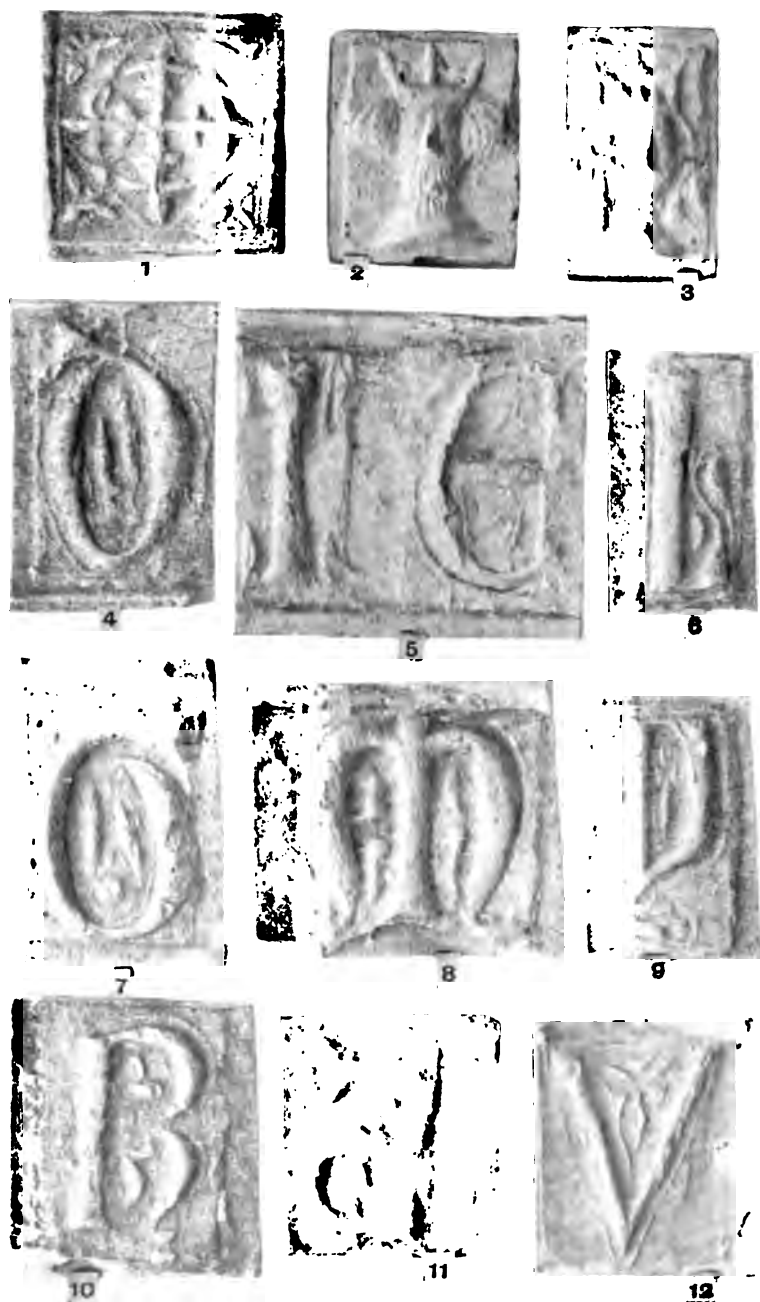
<sup>2</sup> The Rector of Hampton Lovett in Alice Stury's childhood was the owner of lands in Bitterley parish. The gift may, therefore, have been in his memory.

<sup>3</sup> See Nash's *Hist. of Worcs.*, I,

p. 543. I am much indebted to the Rev. J. R. Burton for his valuable researches on this point. See *Salop Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., iv, p. xiv, and *ibid.*, p. 22; also *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., x, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Report*, xxv, p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> *The Bells of England*, p. 150.



STAMPS AND LETTERING ON EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY BELL  
AT BITTERLEY, SALOP.



latter the business came to an end, and that the plant was sold to a Worcester founder before the middle of the century.

Neither in these two groups, nor in a later group of Worcester-cast bells,<sup>1</sup> two of which are dated respectively 1480 and 1482, do we discover any evidence as to names of founders, and it is not until the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, when the Reformation was just beginning, that we first meet with any actual record of a representative of this important medieval foundry.

By the kindness of the Rev. J. K. Floyer, formerly minor canon and librarian of Worcester Cathedral, I am enabled to give here the text of the will of the only known medieval Worcester founder, one Nicholas Grene, who died in 1541. The will was proved at Worcester, 28th April, 1542,<sup>2</sup> and begins as follows :

In dei nomine Amen. The xxv day of Februarye the yere of our lorde MCCCCXLI I Nicholas Grene of the p'yshe of Saynt Nicholas in Wurcest' bellfounder beyng sicke of my body and in p'fyte mynde make this my testament and last wyll first I gyve and bequeathe my soll to the glorious trinite and my body to be buried in Saynt Marie churcheyarde Item I gyve unto the hie awter of my paryshe church xij<sup>d</sup>. Item I gyve and bequethe unto Elizabeth my daughter xl markes st'ling for her marriage Itm I gyve and bequeathe unto Henry my sonne all my bell moldes and all my brasse pott moldes and to occupye them w<sup>t</sup> his moder during her lyfe and all my pewter moldes of brasse what so ev<sup>r</sup> they be.

The rest refers to his domestic property, and need not be quoted here. Appended, says Mr. Floyer, is an inventory much faded and obliterated, but containing an inventory of goods, "in the belle howse," and a list of debts owing from the wardens of various churches: Dymock, Yardley, Hampton, Suckley, Blockley, "All Hallows yn Evessam," "All hallow parysse yn Worcetur," "Segeley," "Lapynton" (? Lapworth), Hadser. Unfortunately none of the parishes named possesses a bell of the period which might afford a useful clue, and we cannot at present identify any existing bells as his. The most likely candidate is, I think, a bell at Morton Bagot near Redditch, with a black-letter inscription of late

<sup>1</sup> *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Report*, xiv, p. 565. Stamps and lettering from these bells are given on Plate II, Figs. 2-9.

<sup>2</sup> Worcester Registry, No. 64, *Worcester Wills (Index Library, xxxi)*, p. 102.



character, on which are the familiar "Royal Head" stamps, connecting it with the Worcester founders. A similar bell, now recast, was at Bearley, also in Warwickshire.

Nicholas Grene established a dynasty of founders of that name, beginning presumably with his son and successor Henry, of whom we know nothing more. Of his successors we can distinguish two, if not three, all alike named John Grene. Of these the first appears at Grimley, where the 4th bell is inscribed in plain Roman letters,

GOD BE OVR GOOD SPEDE WILLIAM WOGAN IG 1599.

The former 2nd at Grimley, the former 2nd at Church Lench, both dated 1600, and the treble at Droitwich St. Peter, quaintly inscribed

GOD SAVA OVR qVEENE A LESABET,

also appear to be the work of this John Grene.

Next we find in the county a group of bells bearing a shield with three bells and the initials I. G. (Plate III, Fig. 2); these are at Stoke Prior (1620), Upton Warren (1618), and Holt (1632). They bear a plain initial cross, which is also found on the 2nd and 3rd at Cotheridge (1633) and the 5th at Grimley (1626)<sup>1</sup>. The shield is also found at Little Hereford, near Tenbury (1628), and was on the old tenor at Naunton Beauchamp, dated (probably in error) 1675. And at Lugwardine, near Hereford, there is a later bell which bears the enigmatic inscription:

HE THAT DOTH B HOVLDE AND C IOHN G OF WOSTAR  
MEDA ME 1651.

In other words,

"He that doth behold and see  
John G. of Worcester made me 1651."

All these bells may, I think, fairly be assigned to a later John Grene, perhaps to two representatives of the name, as the Lugwardine performance is more like the first essay of an unpractised hand, the inscription, in

<sup>1</sup> The treble at Bockleton, dated 1627, belongs to this group, but has neither cross nor shield.



STAMPS AND LETTERING OF WORCESTER FIFTEENTH CENTURY FOUNDERS.

Fig. 1.—Stanford-on-Teme.

Figs. 2-9.—Grimley.



addition to its erratic orthography, being set backwards and mostly upside down! We gather from the Registers of St. Helen's, Worcester (transcribed by the Rev. J. B. Wilson) that a John Grene was baptized there in 1650-1, presumably the infant son of the last-named, and the fourth of the name. But we can trace no further examples of bell-founding by this family.

It is worth while, however, to refer to two allusions to them in other documents. In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Ludlow for the year 1623-24 is the entry,

It'm paied to Greene the Bellfounder towards his Chardgs by the appoyntm<sup>t</sup> of Mr. Baylieffs iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>.

The bells being shortly afterwards recast by another founder, we may assume that this John Grene (the second of the name) was not successful in tendering for the work. And in the Accounts of Stratford-on-Avon we read that on July 26, 1627, "John Greene, bell-founder, was presented by the minister and churchwardens for working on the Sabbath day, July 13, in ye time of divine service," and probably fined.<sup>1</sup>

At Dormstone, and at Little Hereford, we find bells dated respectively 1613 and 1633, with the initials I. P. and R. D. These initials evidently denote the founders, but the first pair are still a mystery. R. D., however, is clearly identical with a Richard Dawkes who is mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Nicholas of Warwick, for 1619<sup>2</sup>:

In primis p<sup>d</sup> to Richard Dawkes in earnest when he vndertooke the casting of the fourth Bell xij<sup>d</sup>.

At the same time there was

Given to Symon Baker the Belfounder over and above v<sup>s</sup>.

The bell appears to have been actually cast at Stratford; but I am inclined to think the founders came from Worcester, as, in the first place, Stratford is too far away to have supplied a bell to Little Hereford, and secondly, the name of Baker occurs on another bell which seems to have been cast in the county. This is the treble at Worcester St. Peter, cast by Godwin Baker

<sup>1</sup> North and Stahlschmidt, *Church Belle of Herts*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. Savage*, p. 158.

in 1615, and bearing as stops a crown, a fleur-de-lys, and the keys of St. Peter (Plate III, Figs. 1, 3). The initials and similar marks occur also at Doverdale and Sedgeberrow. Possibly Godwin and Simon are one and the same person. We know nothing more of Godwin Baker, but his stamps became shortly afterwards the property of Thomas Hancox of Walsall.

In the seventeenth century there was a famous foundry at Chacomb in Northants, near Banbury, which supplied many bells to south-east Worcestershire between 1632 and 1700, bearing the names of the founders, Henry, Matthew, and William Bagley. There were two Matthew Bagleys living about 1680-1690, whom I cannot quite disentangle; but these two facts are certain: (1) that one Matthew Bagley died at Evesham in 1690, and was buried in the north aisle of St. Lawrence's Church on the 11th of June.<sup>1</sup> He is described as "Matthew Bayly, bell-founder." (2) The other Matthew migrated to London about the same time, and his name occurs on bells at Chigwell, in Essex, dated 1693.

The former appears to have spent a few years previous to his death at Evesham, whence he supplied a ring of six bells to Great Comberton in 1687, and others to Defford and Wythall in 1689. His business at Evesham was subsequently carried on by two founders of the name of Michael Bushell and William Clark, who cast the "great bell" of Badsey Church in 1706.

I append to this paper a list of Worcestershire founders, with their dates, so far as they can at present be ascertained.

#### I. WORCESTER FOUNDERS (PRE-REFORMATION).

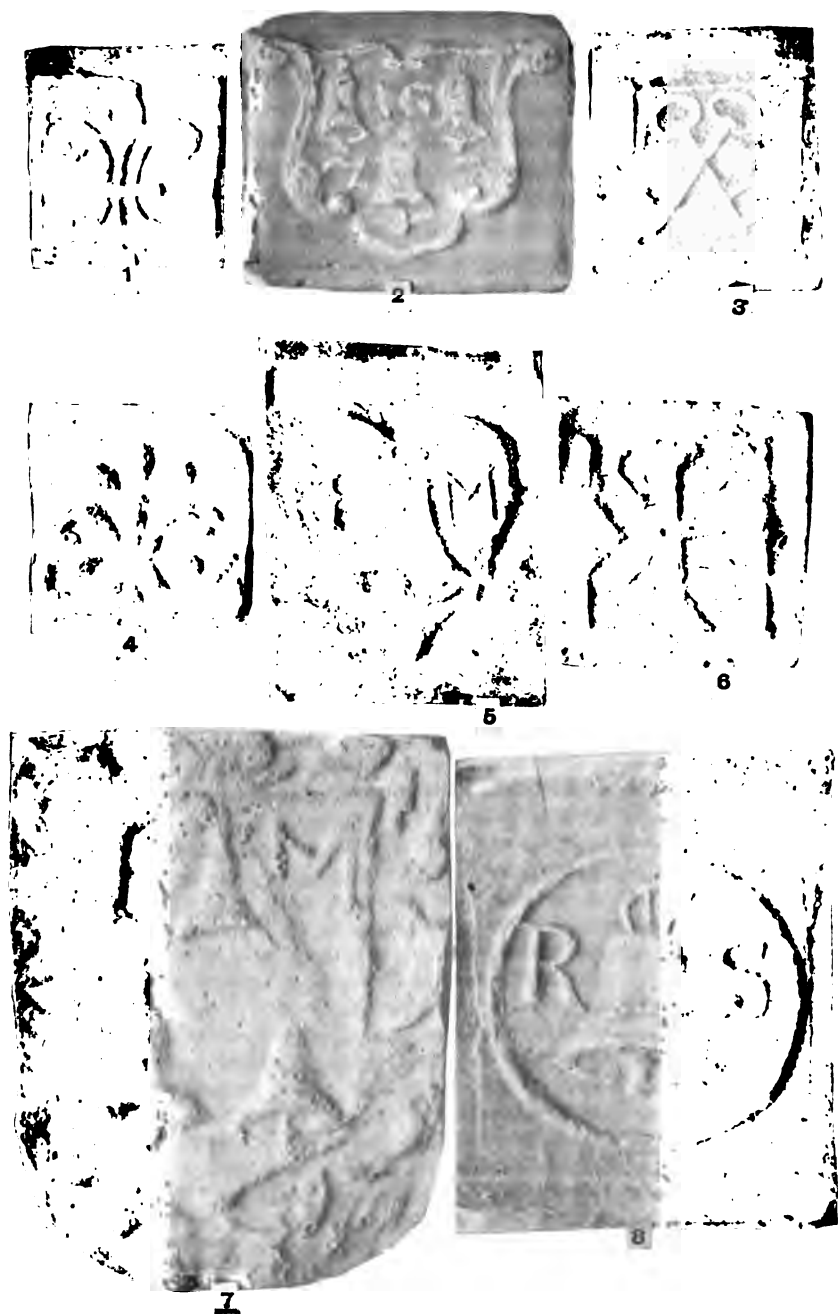
##### (1) *Unknown founder.*

A group of bells bearing the "Royal Head" stamps, dating about 1410. (Plate I.)

##### (2) *Unknown founder.*

Stamps derived from John Barber of Salisbury; Royal Heads used occasionally. Date about 1420-1450. (See Plate II. Fig. 1.)

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Prattinton's MSS. in the Society of Antiquaries' Library, s.v. Evesham.



STAMPS OF LATER WORCESTERSHIRE FOUNDRIES.

Figs. 1, 3.—Godwin Baker.  
Figs. 4-7.—John Martin.

Fig. 2.—John Grene.  
Fig. 8.—Richard Sanders.



(3) *Unknown founder* (possibly of monastic origin).

Date 1475-1485 (Worcester St. Michael, 1480; Grimley tenor, 1482);  
"Royal Head" stamps representing Henry VI., Margaret of Anjou,  
and Prince Edward. (See Plate II. Figs. 2-9.)

(4) *Nicholas Grene* (died 1541).

Bells not identified; one at Morton Bagot, Warwickshire, may be his.

II. WORCESTER FOUNDERS (POST-REFORMATION).

(1) Henry Grene (c. 1550).

(2) John Grene I. (c. 1600).

(3) John Grene II. (1618-1633). (See Plate III. Fig. 2.)

(4) John Grene III. (c. 1650).

(5) Richard Dawkes and I. P. (1613-1633).

(6) Godwin Baker (1615-1623). (See Plate III. Figs. 1-3.)

(7) John Martin (1644-1693).

Possibly there were two founders of this name. (See Plate III.  
Figs. 4-7.)

(8) William Huntbatch (1680-1692).

III. EVESHAM FOUNDERS.

(1) Matthew Bagley (1686-1690).

(2) William Clark and Michael Bushell (1701-1711).

IV. BROMSGROVE FOUNDERS.

(1) Richard Sanders (1705-1738). (See Plate III. Fig. 8.)

(2) William Brooke (1739-1750).

NOTE.—There are some bells of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which were probably cast in the county, *e.g.*, at Frankley (1584), Holt (1608), Great Malvern (1611), Bransford (1620), and elsewhere; but nothing is known of their founders.



## NOTES ON THE EFFIGY OF JOHN CAPERON, RECTOR OF RENDLESHAM.<sup>1</sup>

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A.

The church of St. Gregory the Great at Rendlesham, Suffolk, is a small ancient building of flint with stone dressings consisting of chancel, nave, south porch and western embattled tower.

In the south wall of the chancel is a recess possessing a fine ogee cinquefoiled arch, 7 feet 5 inches high and 6 feet 9 inches wide. The spandrels, which are formed by cusps having terminals of fine double petalled flowers, are filled with well-carved conventional foliage. The ogee arch is decorated with richly sculptured crochets of conventional design and 7 inches in width, which terminate in a beautiful finial 1 foot 2 inches wide. Each side of the wall recess is flanked by a tall buttress carried up to the same height as the finial on the top of the ogee arch. The lower portion of the easternmost buttress is ornamented with nine roses, while the western buttress has only eight. The upper stage of each buttress is decorated with eleven small roses, and the buttresses terminate in an embattled tower, from which rises a well-carved pinnacle. (Fig. 1.)

The recumbent effigy is sculptured on a stone slab 6 feet 6 inches long and 2 inches deep, and the head rests on two cushions; the lower one is square, the upper one is lozenge-shaped. On each side is an angel with well-sculptured wings. Their hands are most delicately executed and hold the edge of the cushion. The angel on the right has a band round the head and forehead. The feet of the figure are placed on a large maned lion, couchant, with the head turned towards the north.

The effigy represents a priest in Eucharistic vestments. The head shows a well-defined tonsure, and the hair falls

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Meeting of the Institute on 7th November, 1906.

to the ears while the nose is somewhat flattened. The vestments consist of alb gathered at the waist over the girdle, the amice, maniple over the left arm showing both ends, and long plain oval-shaped chasuble ending somewhat in a point. Each foot is encased in a chassure. (Fig. 2.)



FIG 1.—TOMB OF JOHN CAPERON, RECTOR OF RENDLESHAM, 1349-1375.

In Kelly's *County Directory of Suffolk* this effigy is thus described: "In a recess of the wall on the north side of the chancel there is a monument of considerable antiquity with recumbent figure in stone of a lady with a lion at her feet and a child at each side of her." On examination of the tomb it is found that the effigy is that of a priest, not of a woman, and the children at the side are angels with well-sculptured wings.

The effigy is now painted white, but at one time it was doubtless richly painted in gold and appropriate colours. It would appear that this effigy represents John Caperon,<sup>1</sup> Rector of Rendlesham, who was instituted on the 22nd of April, 1349, and died in the year 1375. Sir Thomas



FIG. 2.—EFFIGY OF JOHN CAPERON, RECTOR OF RENDLESHAM, 1349-1375.

de Holebrook was patron of Rendlesham and presented John Caperon to the living. This rector was either much respected or he belonged to a good family, as he was buried in so fine a tomb, or it may be that he prepared his final resting-place himself during the twenty-six years he was Rector of Rendlesham.

<sup>1</sup> John Caperon is evidently the Rector of Rendlesham mentioned in this reference:—

Suff: *Feet of Fines*, No. 10. 27 Ed. III. (1354).

Thos. de Holebrook, chevalier, v. *John*

*Caperon*, parson of Tatungston church and Henry White of Tatungstone of the manors of Cowbawe, Foxhole, Langeston, and Rendlesham, and advowson of the churches of Rendlesham, Buklesham, Brendwenham, and Holton.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

**HADDON: THE MANOR, THE HALL, ITS LORDS AND TRADITIONS.**  
By G. LE BLANC SMITH, Esq. pp. 166, 53 plates. London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

Haddon Hall is famous all the world over, and no apology is needed for the production of the volume before us. In many ways Haddon is unique, and if a full description of its buildings, its owners and its legends were attempted it would fill many volumes and form an engrossing story. Mr. Le Blanc Smith's purpose in issuing his book has been to supply the serious visitor to Haddon with a clear and concise account of its history and the divers families who have from time to time made it their home, and by so doing he has on the one hand saved his reader the task of searching his facts from the original authorities, and, on the other, from falling a victim to the highly coloured stories of the local guides. The book does not claim any great originality, but the reproduction of letters, accounts, etc., from the published treasures of Belvoir add greatly to its value and may lead some readers to further investigation.

To the archaeologist, Haddon has a special value, since, by what is almost a miraculous train of circumstances, it still remains at the beginning of the twentieth century, what it was at the close of the sixteenth. Many of its fellows less known to fame have suffered destruction at the hand of fire or man, others have been so modernised at different periods by their owners as to have lost all their original interest, others again have fallen to decay and present to us naught but ivy-clad desolate ruins. Any of these might easily have been the fate of Haddon, and the story of how it has escaped, and how carefully it is now preserved by its noble owners is fully set forth by our author.

The arrangement of the book is as follows. The first chapter is concerned with the owners of Haddon from the Conquest to its acquisition by the Vernon family; during this period the manor passed through the hands of the families of Peverel, Avenel, and Basset. Chapters II and III deal with the Vernon family, who finally acquired the whole manor early in the reign of Henry VI.; Chapter IV introduces Dorothy Vernon, the heiress who carried Haddon to the Mannors, from whom the Dukes of Rutland, the present owners, are descended. The lovers of the picturesque will learn with regret that another idyl is dispelled, and that the Dorothy Vernon of fiction and her romantic marriage have no existence save in the imaginations which created them.

The remaining chapters treat of the house, its furniture, tapestry, and gardens, and not the least interesting and valuable part of the work are the five appendices, where, *inter alia*, will be found the remarkable will of Sir Henry Vernon (died 1515) and the no less curious steward's accounts from 1549-1671. The book closes with a pedigree of the Vernon family. The illustrations, which are numerous,

will be very helpful in assisting those readers who have not visited Haddon to picture this grand medieval residence, and the author is to be congratulated on his fine photographs of the interior, especially those showing the carved woodwork in the ball room and dining room. The book is worthy of its subject, and Mr. Smith has constructed a very readable volume out of his multitudinous material; occasionally, however, his style is apt to become rather popular and careless, and we cannot help thinking that the book would have read better if the author devoted a little more time to remoulding some of his sentences, for instance, the estimate of Henry VIII. contained on page 93, is hardly worthy of the book. We also lament the absence of an index. These minor blemishes cannot detract from what is a very useful publication, which we hope will find its way into the homes of many English and American visitors to Haddon, and enable them to repeople its solitude with the forms of its past inhabitants, and to conjure up visions of what a great English manor house was like, and how it was managed in the days of "The King of the Peak."

**CORNISH NOTES AND QUERIES.** First Series. Edited by PETER PENN.  
London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

In 1903 *The Cornish Telegraph* commenced a series of notes on matters appertaining to Cornish history, genealogy, natural history, and kindred subjects, and these notes are to be periodically embodied in volumes of which the one before us is the first to appear; in this way, it is hoped, will be preserved in a convenient and accessible manner useful items of local knowledge which might otherwise be irretrievably lost.

The following archaeological publications have been received by the Institute:—

- Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1905. Vol. XXXV.
- Archaeologia Cumbrensis*, April, July and October, 1906. 6th Series.  
Nos. 22, 23, 24.
- Archaeologia*. Vol. LIX. Part II.
- Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*. Vol. VIII. No. 2.
- Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1906. Vol.  
XXXVI. Parts 2 and 3.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne*,  
1906. 3rd Series. Vol. II. Nos. 20, 21.
- Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*. 3rd Series.  
Vol. VI. Part II.
- Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1906. No. XLVI.
- Surrey Archaeological Collections*. Vol. XIX.
- The Reliquary*, July, 1906. Vol. XII. Nos. 3 and 4.
- Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1905. Vol. IX.
- Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical  
Society*. Vol. L. Part III.
- The Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, June, 1906. Vol. XXXIV.
- Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*. Vol. XVIII.  
Part I.

- The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1906. Part LXXIII.  
*Société Jersiaise. Actes des Etats de L'Ile de Jersey*, 1731-1745.  
*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 1906. 3rd Series. Vol. II.  
*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*  
 for 1905. Vol. XXVIII. Part II.  
*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, November, 1906.  
*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*. Vol. X. Part I.  
*The 23rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1901-1902.  
*Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 32. Jemez Plateau.*  
*Fet of Fines for Essex*. Part VII. Published by the Essex  
 Archaeological Society and edited by R. E. G. Kirk, Esq.  
*Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam preserved at*  
*Gorhambury*, 1906. Historical Manuscripts Commission.  
*Index of Archaeological Papers published in 1904*. Compiled by  
 Bernard Gomme.

The following foreign publications have also been received :—

- Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*. T. XX. 1906.  
 L. I and II.  
*Société Archéologique de Bordeaux*. T. 24, 2<sup>e</sup> F. et T. 25, 1<sup>er</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup>  
 F.  
*Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société de Borda Dax (Landes)* (1905).  
 3<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> Trimestre (1906). 1<sup>er</sup> Trimestre.  
*Bulletin de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale*. T. IV.  
 1<sup>er</sup> F.  
*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, 1904. XXVIII<sup>e</sup>  
 volume.  
*Répertoire des Travaux de la Société de Statistique de Marseille*, 1904.  
 T. 46<sup>e</sup>, 1<sup>er</sup> partie.  
*Bulletin de la Société Polymethique du Morbihan*, 1904. F. 1 et  
 F. 2.  
*Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1904.  
*Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*. Tomo III, Núms. 6, 7.



## THE EVOLUTION OF WORCESTER.<sup>1</sup>

By J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

A French writer gives as the sequence in the evolution of a French colony, "A barrack, a café, a prison." The sequence in the evolution of many of our English cities may be said to be a fort, a religious house, a town, especially if, like Worcester, the city is on the march or border of a tribal district. The Severn in early times was a great frontier river, crossed at certain places by well known fords. At or near these fords there dwelt persons, plunderers, or protectors, or both, of those who had to cross the ford. The rude huts of these watchers required some protection against the incursions of beasts or Britons. The protection would probably take the form of a palisaded bank enclosing the huts, thus rendering them to some degree defensible against either class of assailant. These huts with their protecting bank formed the fort.

When the missionary zeal of Archbishop Theodore sent forth priests to convert the heathen Saxon, they would naturally seek these village forts as the only shelter the country afforded, and the travellers who crossed the ford would furnish them with "occasions to be improved"; hence advantage was taken of these spots making them the headquarters of the missionary bands. The priests who formed these bands lived together and constituted the religious house.

The fort and the religious house, protecting and protected, could not fail to attract persons who desired a refuge from foes either temporal or spiritual, so under the shadow of the fort and the religious house people came and dwelt to secure the advantages of both worlds, hence the town.

Such was the normal growth of an English city. Each city, while following this general outline, had peculiarities of its own which gives its history a special interest.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Worcester, 27th July, 1906.



The peculiarities arise from local circumstances and difficulties, which show how matters were dealt with in the different cases. This paper is an attempt to show how Worcester dealt with hers.

The first thing necessary to understand the evolution of Worcester is to get a clear idea of her geographical position.

(1) On both banks east and west of the Severn for some distance above and below Worcester ran a great forest or sparsely populated waste. In traversing this, such travellers as there were had always to be on their guard against robbers and wolves, so some place where the dangers could be reduced to a minimum was selected where travellers would be obliged to halt.

(2) They were compelled to stop on the river banks. Then, and for years afterwards, the Severn was a tidal stream; up to and above Worcester the tide regularly ebbed and flowed. The ford was therefore not passable at all times of the day, so that travellers who wanted to cross had to wait until the tide served for the passage. Only those who lived on the spot could tell when that would be, so a halting place on the river bank was a necessity. Hence the origin of the huts near the ford, to protect the travellers and their goods while they waited, to quote an old statute, "Essaying to pass over."

(3) Somewhere near on the east of the ford; although the exact spot is uncertain, the track that crossed the river and ran through the forest from east to west was intersected by the track that ran from north to south. This made the halting place of more importance as the ford was more used.

The ford and the intersection of tracks are therefore the origin of Worcester. They made some halting place on the river bank necessary. Such a place was not easy to find; the land adjoining the Severn hereabouts is almost all on a level, and the fall of the river between Worcester and Gloucester is insignificant. The height of Worcester above sea level is even less than 100 feet. At high water the marshes and low-lying lands must have been almost impassable, hence if a site in their midst could be found near the river, it would possess the advantage of being defended by the marshes and by the river. Such a

spot existed : a great mound, flat topped, running parallel to the river, bounded on the south and east by a brook, on the west by the river, was precisely what was required. This mound, the tump on which the cathedral now stands, formed the first settlement at Worcester.

The history of this tump is really the history of the city. On the south side of it, in all probability, were placed the huts, enclosed by a bank overlooking the river. All traces of these have long ago passed away, but along the brook that here joined the river, until recent times, there were remains of a bank, which, although often altered and renewed, may well have been on the site of, or even part of, the early settlement.

A few rude huts encircled by a bank was the starting point of Worcester. The first matter of interest is : What was the name ?

If, instead of being on the east side of the Severn they had been on the west, or if Welsh had then been the spoken language of the district, there can be no doubt that a group of huts encircled with a bank would have been called "Llan," with some distinctive local or religious suffix. This was the case on the fords higher up the Severn and on the fords of the next great river to the west, the Wye. How the place escaped from the Welsh name, or how the Welsh name was supplanted by another, is not easy to say. That Welsh was spoken in the district seems clear from some of the place-names. Lower down the river towards Gloucester one of the fords or passing places still bears the Welsh name for a ford, "Rhydd," while others are called by the non-Welsh name of "Lode." For some reason the two most important crossings of the Lower Severn, possibly because they were occupied by Romans, have lost their local names and acquired the term "cestre." It is known that the one, Gloucester, was a Roman town ; it is conjectured that the other, Worcester, was also a town or village in Roman times.

It is impossible to form any idea as to when the settlement at the ford was first formed—probably long before historic or Roman times—for there must have always been some line of communication across the river from east to west, probably past the great fort (the Herefordshire

Beacon) which guarded the pass over the Malvern Hills. The fact, which is usually admitted, that Worcester lay off the line of any of the great Roman roads, points to the ford having a pre-Roman origin. Possibly, when in Roman times the ford came to be more used, the old name was lost and the later name substituted as the settlement increased in importance and developed into a village. But as to this Mr. Haverfield says that Worcester was of so little importance in Roman times that :

“not only is the Romano-British name of the place unknown nor has any probable conjecture ever been suggested concerning it.”

The earliest name for the place in the Saxon charters is “Wigeran” or “Wiogeran ceastre.”<sup>2</sup> This Mr. Haverfield says has nothing to do with the Hwicci, and

“is probably not English at all but may conceivably contain some vestige of a British name.”<sup>1</sup>

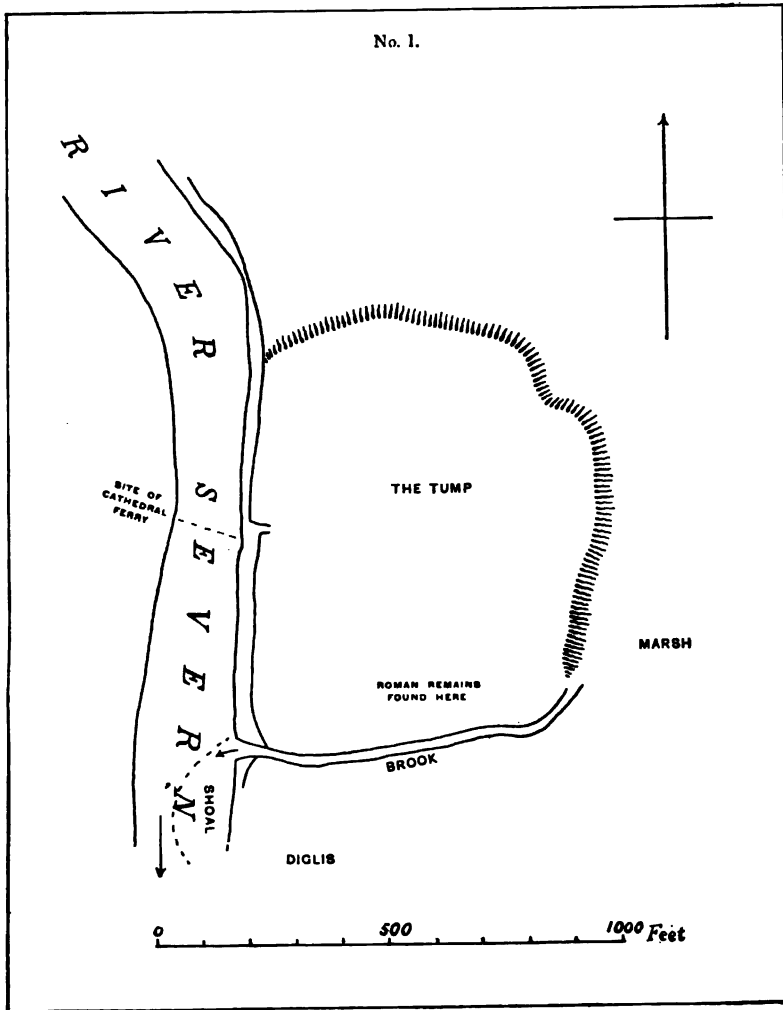
So it will not do to trust too much to the evidence of the name to prove that the settlement at the ford was occupied by Romans. The existence of the ford and settlement are certain; the uncertainty is not the ford nor the origin, but merely, Did the Romans ever occupy the shelter? a point, after all, of but minor importance.

It is a more difficult matter to localise the ford. All, or almost all, the writers on Worcester have escaped the difficulty by evading it. It is, however, a point of such importance in the history of Worcester that an attempt should be made to meet it. There is no direct evidence on the subject, but something of a case can be made out for the south side of the present city. It is clear that the city did not then extend up the river for any distance. It could not extend below, for what are now the Diglis meadows, between Diglis House and Berwick's Brook, was then a swampy marsh which has gradually silted up to its present level. This is shown by the fact that in 1844, when the new cut to the navigation lock at Diglis was being made, at a depth of 20 feet, animal bones, pieces of pottery, and a coin of Marcus Aurelius<sup>3</sup> were found, thus showing that if that was the then level the subsequent silting must have been

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria History (Worcester)*, I, 204.

<sup>2</sup> Kemble Cod. Dipl. No. 1075.

<sup>3</sup> *Allies' Antiquities*, p. 28.





very great. Far later in the thirteenth century it appears that a marsh extended on the east side of the city to the bottom of Friar Street.<sup>1</sup> It therefore seems that on the south side of the town below the cathedral tump there was a bog, a place not offering a good entrance to, or exit from a ford. The site must therefore have been somewhere between the south side of the cathedral tump and where the old bridge crossed the river at the bottom of Newport Street. As far as is known, there was no ford across the river at the bridge or for some way below. It is clear that in the fifteenth century there was deep water on the west bank, for the city ordinances directed the filth of the city to be cast into the river there, not on the shallows on the east side<sup>2</sup>; consequently, as far as can be said, there was no ford until a point to the south of the cathedral was reached just below the south side of the tump. A brook used to run into the river here which was at a later time called "Frog Brook"; at the time of the civil wars it was so considerable a stream as to turn a mill adjoining the tump. This brook was covered in at a later date, and its course called "Frog Lane." The gentility of the Worcester City Council has led them to commit the sin of removing their neighbour's landmarks by getting rid of this and a number of other old local names because they were "vulgar," so the course of the brook is now called Diglis Street. Where the brook joined the Severn, and for some distance below a large shoal, known as "Diglis Shoal," used to exist until it was dredged out to improve the river for navigation purposes. This shoal, it seems probable, marked the site of the ford.

Another reason for thus thinking, is, that this is the only spot that in old times the fortifications of the place commanded; if the river had been fordable at any spot to the north of this tump the town would have been unprotected. The fact that practically the city was left undefended between the tump and the bridge, and that no defensive works were ever placed on the west bank,

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Wig. Rolls* ed., p. 537. The friars' burial ground situate here is said "tempore hyemali mersus dicetur melius quam sepultus."

<sup>2</sup> *Green*, II App., p. lxxvii.

leads to an inference that the fort on the tump guarded the ford. There are further reasons. If it was asked what evidence of the existence of a settlement such as that which it has been said existed at the ford would be expected to be found in excavating on the site, the answer would be coins and pottery. Excavations have been made on and along the tump up the north side of the brook at different times upon the suggested site of the settlement, and the result has been to find various articles which are to all appearances either late Celtic or Roman pottery and Roman coins.

"None of them point to a single recognisable trace of any definite kind of building, public or private. Still the number and character of the certain and probable items is significant and seems to justify the idea of the existence of a small country town or village."<sup>1</sup>

Besides the pottery a number of first and second century coins have been found at the spot, and their comparative frequency suggests that the village or huts were

"already in existence before or in the early part of the Roman occupation."<sup>2</sup>

The fact of the existence of these relics at the spot where it is suggested the fort or shelter stood, and the further fact of the shoal being just under the settlement or fort, are the basis from which it seems fair to draw the inference that here on the tump was the fort and below it the ford.

It is just possible that the cathedral ferry which still exists a few yards higher up the river may be the modern survival of the ancient ford—at least, it marks the line of a track leading from the east to the tump.

This is all that can be said as to the first stage in the history of Worcester—the fort, and its origin. Popular writers say that Worcester was not merely a Roman town, but also it was the Hwiccian capital. The point as to the Roman town has been dealt with. As to the Hwiccian capital there are difficulties. (1) It is not by any means certain that the Hwicci had a capital at all; (2) assuming that they had, there is nothing in any way to show that capital was Worcester. There were other places in their supposed territory which are equally probable or improbable.

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria History*, I, 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

II. Assuming that the existence of the fort, or rather the enclosed settlement on the tump, is established, the next point in the order of development is the Religious House. Here we get on firmer ground. About 655 the missionary priests who sought to convert the pagan Saxons, had wandered through the Mercian forest as far as the Severn, and some of them reached the fort overlooking the Severn ford. From the intersection of the tracks it was a convenient centre for evangelising the forest, and the clergy soon made it their headquarters. It was deemed necessary to have someone to be at the head of these priests, and a monk came from the great monastery of St. Hilda at Whitby for the purpose, and became the first Worcester bishop; this is said to have been in 680, the date of the consecration of Bosel by Archbishop Theodore. Bosel came to Worcester and took up his residence on the tump. There for upwards of 1,200 years his successors have been settled. The story of Worcester for the next 1,100 years is the story of the Worcester monastery.

On several points of interest in connection with the new monastery. Did the clergy occupy the whole of the tump and eject the earlier dwellers? Did the fort and ford still remain? Did the clergy only occupy the part not included in the fort? How long did the ford continue and when was it superseded by a bridge? As to all these there are no data to go upon.

Very soon after the clergy came, a church was built and grants of land made to it. It was dedicated in honour of St. Peter; this, Stubbs says, was in the seventh century.<sup>1</sup>

What was this church? All writers say the first cathedral at Worcester, but there is another view. On the bank of the old Frog brook still stands a church of St. Peter, not a monastic, but a parish church, and this, if not within the limits of the old settlement, was close on its borders. Further south and further east the Diglis swamp prevented the settlement extending. It is suggested that this church of St. Peter the Great was the original church of the Worcester settlement, the first church built in Worcester. It is said to have existed in

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journal*, xix, 238.



the time of Bishop Ostfor before 700.<sup>1</sup> If this view is accepted, it would seem that the clergy settled on the vacant space on the east side of the tump; the lay settlement continuing enclosed on the south side; here outside the enclosure stood the church.

The clergy who were settled at Worcester do not appear to have followed any regular rule or order. Soon after they came their settlement was surrounded by a bank or by a palisade, but whether it was part of the old fort or a new enclosure is not quite clear. It may have been an additional enclosure, which would seem to exclude the church of St. Peter. That some such enclosure was made at an early date is clear. It would have been strange if it was not so. In those wild times the monastery would not have felt safe if raiders from the land or the river could have attacked it and robbed it without any obstruction. The precise extent of the enclosure is not certain, but it is suggested that it contained all the tump, as that had early become a separate parish with its own church, a parish which included all the land on which the monastery and bishop's palace afterwards stood, but did not include St. Peter's church and the houses round it. There is no clear evidence as to when the tump parish church was built, but it is suggested that from its dedication it was built at an early date as the church is dedicated in honour of the archangel Michael. As has been said, the tump was inhabited from early times, and in all probability the early dwellers on it were heathen and offered up heathen worship and heathen sacrifices. When a place that had been the site of heathen worship became the site of a Christian church in order to show and to emphasise the triumph of the angels of light over the powers of darkness, a dedication to the great Christian standard-bearer Michael was very common. It would therefore be in accordance with the usual practice if the church erected on the tump to celebrate the triumph of the power of Heaven, was in honour of St. Michael. The importance of this is, the indication that this church was one of the earliest ones erected here soon after the establishment of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Survey Worcester Cathedral*, p. 7.

the clerical colony.<sup>1</sup> If this is so, it does not seem likely that inside the monastic enclosure there would be a church of St. Michael and a church of St. Peter, especially when it is clear there was a parish and parish church of St. Peter close outside the enclosure.

There is also another point. When Worcester was divided into parishes the monastic enclosure of St. Michael formed a separate parish, which was always in the county of Worcester, and outside the city, while the church of St. Peter and the houses round it were always in the city. If the view here put forward that the church of St. Peter and the old settlement remained, after the coming of the monks, in its old enclosure, and this was part of, if not the whole of, the old lay settlement, when the monks enclosed the rest of the tump as their territory, and built there their own church of St. Michael, which was always outside the city, it goes some way towards offering an explanation of some local peculiarities in the development of Worcester that it is otherwise difficult to explain. There are further points that require to be considered, such as the fact that the area of St. Peter extended a long way outside the city, and that there was a church of St. Peter in the castle; but they do not necessarily contradict this view.

Among the early documents relating to the Worcester Church is one given by Heming<sup>2</sup> that causes some difficulty; it is called a Synodal decree, and is said to have been obtained by Bishop Wilfrith in 796, by which it was ordered that the monastery of Withington in Gloucestershire should, after the death of the Abbess that then held it, be annexed to the see of Worcester (Worcester). In 774, Bishop Mildred<sup>3</sup> had given this land to the Abbess Ethelburgha for her life, and after her death it was to return to "the Church of St. Peter, in Wcagemceston, which is the Pontifical see of the Wiccians." This, therefore, shows that at all events at this time the Church of St. Peter was regarded as the chief church in

<sup>1</sup> From an entry in the *Sede Vacante Register*, as to Ginsborough's enthronement, it appears to have been in 1303 an ancient custom for the Bishop to put on his vestments in St. Michael's

Church and enter the Cathedral from there by the north transept. *S. V. Reg.* (W. H. S.), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Chart.* (ed. Hearne), ii, 464.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Worcester. Another charter in 775 gives land at Stoke, on the east side of the Salwarpe, to the brethren serving God in the monastery at Wigoune, built in honour of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it seems that in the eighth century the state of things was, the Church of St. Peter, the Episcopal Church; and apart and distinct from it, the Monastery of St. Mary.

There is nothing to show if St. Peter's, the episcopal church, and the parish church, are one and the same, or not; nor if there was a church attached to the monastery of St. Mary, or whether St. Michael's was or was not that church. Most writers have assumed a cathedral of St. Peter in the monastic enclosure, which was also the church of the monastery, but the evidence does not seem to bear this out. There was a church of St. Peter's outside, and a church of St. Michael's inside; but that is about as far as can be said with any certainty. But it is most probable if St. Michael's was not the monastic church, that such a church also existed inside the monastic enclosure.

This completes the early account of the monastery. Under its shadow, as in so many other cases, a town began to arise. This town was more than a mere expansion of the old settlement. It does not seem to have greatly interfered with it, but it so increased that a church became necessary, and one was built on the north side the tump in the new group of houses, and dedicated to St. Helena. At some time after, another church adjoining St. Helen's was built and dedicated to the Martyr Alban. Later, a quarrel arose between these churches as to which of them was the oldest. The matter at a subsequent date gave rise to a good deal of friction, St. Helen's claiming to be the Mother Church of Worcester and as such to have certain rights over the others. The question came before a synod held by Bishop Wustan in 1092, which came to these very remarkable conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

(1) That the only parish in the city of Worcester was that of the Mother Church.

<sup>1</sup> Birch Cart. Sax., I, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Heming Chartul. (Hearne ed.), II, 528, 930.

(2) That the vicarage of the Mother Church of St. Helen's has existed from the time of King Athelred and Archbishop Theodore, who founded the place and made Bosel first bishop in 680.

(3) That this order of things continued from the time of Bosel to that of Oswald, who, by the permission of Edgar and by the authority of Archbishop Dunstan, on account of the irregular lives of the secular clergy, substituted the regular lives of the monks in 969.

(4) At this time Wynsin was vicar of St. Helen's. At Oswald's request he and the other priests who served there became monks and handed over the church of St. Helen and its possessions to the use of the monastery. In return Oswald made Wynsin Prior of the Worcester House, and granted to him and all successive Priors of Worcester that they should be over all the churches and priests in that town. No dean, archdeacon, or other official, except the Prior, could exercise jurisdiction.

If this document is genuine, and gives a correct account of what took place at the synod, St. Helen's was in a very remarkable position. She was the only parish church in Worcester, the others were all chapels, and from this position she became the Mother Church. No mention is made of St. Peter or of St. Michael's. It seems to leave the tump and its houses alone, and only to deal with the houses to the north of the tump.

If, as has been suggested, St. Peter's had been the church with the bishop's throne, the first church of all, St. Helen's would have no jurisdiction over it; as to St. Michael's, St. Helen's would have no jurisdiction, as St. Michael's was in the county and St. Helen's jurisdiction was confined to the city. To some slight extent, therefore, this bears out the suggestion here put forward that the order of churches was, St. Peter's the church of the original settlement, St. Michael's, the church of the monastery not in the city of Worcester; and St. Helen's the church of the town; and it is quite possible that they were built in that order.

This decree of the synod bears out the statement that there was only one parish in the city of Worcester, with a large number of chapelries, and if this is so it goes a long way to account for one or two points in the

development of the city that are otherwise difficult to explain.

From an early period, as might have been expected, for the reasons already given as to the enclosure of the fort and the monastery, walls were built round the town. It is usually said that Worcester, having recently suffered from an incursion of Danes, between 573-899, obtained for its future protection from the earl and Lady of the Mercians, Aethelred and Aethelflaed, the leave of King Alfred, at the request of the Bishop Werfrid, permission to build the city walls, and that Aethelred and his wife gave a half of their rights in the city to the Bishop and St. Peter.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear if this was the first time the Worcester walls were built or whether they had been built before and were now rebuilt. However that may be, this marks a further point in the development of the city, the town was walled in.

The next point is one of considerable difficulty. What was the area enclosed in the walls? Having regard to the statement of Wolstan's Synod that St. Helen's was the only parish in Worcester, it seems a not unfair inference to draw that the area of St. Helen's parish was the area enclosed. If the statement that the parish included a number of parochial chapels is true this would account for the other parishes that are now included in the area, the chapelries gradually becoming parishes. To some extent this view is borne out by a consideration of the Manor of the Priory, which was called the Manor of the Guesten Hall. It is said—

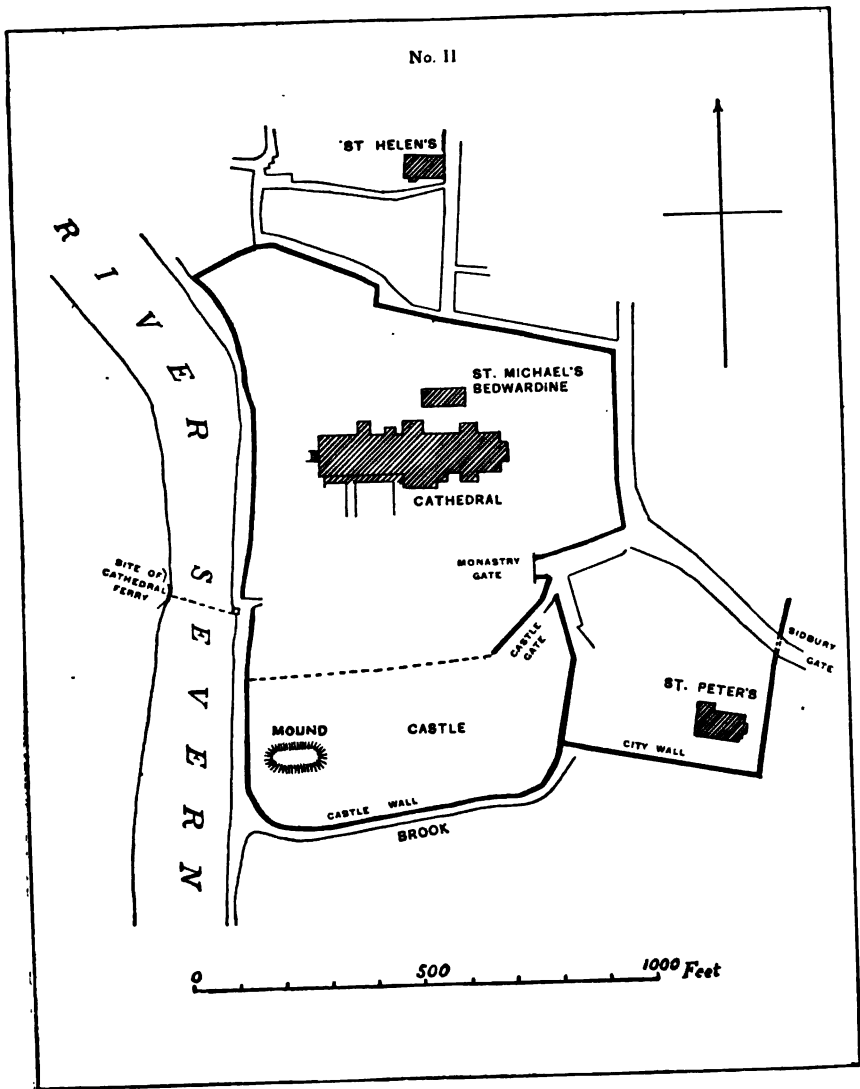
"The boundaries of the manor of Guesten Hall (the hall of which yet remains within the precincts of the cathedral) cannot well be ascertained as they extend into all parts of the city and almost into every street where the church has either lands or houses."<sup>2</sup>

A manor with its tenants scattered over various parishes would be a very unusual occurrence, but a manor with its tenants in various parts of the same parish, even if the parish were divided into chapelries, would not. If the parish of St. Helen was coterminous with the city, this would explain at once all the difficulties of the

<sup>1</sup> The words are "for the love of God and for St. Peter and the church at Worcester, and at the request of Werfrid the Bishop, their friend Aethelred the earldorman, and Aethel-

flaed commanded the burh at Worcester to be built." Kemble, *Saxons in England*, I, 328, Cod. Dipl. No. 1075. Mr. St. John Hope has kindly given me this reference.

<sup>2</sup> Green, *Hist. Worcester*, II, 48.





Guestenhall Manor, as the manor and parish would have originally had the same area, the anomaly arising from the boundaries of the parish becoming subsequently restricted to a part of the original parish could not occur.

This, however, does not quite explain the city area, that area and the parish of St. Helen were not coterminous. There were in addition parts of other parishes, St. Peter, St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and St. Clement, which were inside the city walls. As to St. Martin the parish included three manors, Cudley, Lippard, and Perry, which were and have always been in the county. A small portion of the parish was outside these manors; another was included within the city walls. Here the city took what was really no man's land and what would probably have more interest with the town than with the outside manors. The same reason applies to St. Clement's: part was on the east side of the river—this was included in the city walls; part on the west—this was left out.

Somewhat similar is the case of St. Peter's. Here were also three manors, Battenhall, Barneshall, and Timberdine, which were all in the county and so remained, while the small piece adjoining the fort and the old settlement was included in the city. In each of these cases a definite area of the parish was included and another excluded.

This inclusion and exclusion offers a possible solution of what has long been a puzzle to the Worcester antiquaries; to certain parishes a word has been added to the name "Bedwardine"; what does it mean? The parishes that have it are three: St. Michael, St. Nicholas and St. John, and any explanation of the name must have some reference to each parish. The local circumstances of each vary greatly. Habingdon, the first writer who tries to explain the word, says, speaking of St. Michael's:

"The church, shrouded under the wing of the cathedral church, in the heart of the sanctuary sheweth, as by the addition of the word Bedwarden, that she was under the jurisdiction of the warden of the bedes or prayers, and the parish of the inhabitants of the sanctuary, a place privileged from temporal exaction."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H. S. History, II, 47.



However well the explanation may suit St. Michael's it has no reference at all to either St. Nicholas or St. John's : neither of them can be said to be the parish of the inhabitants of the Sanctuary, nor are they in any way privileged from temporal exaction.

Green gives another definition.<sup>1</sup>

"Brod, in modern orthography Bred, is *mensa*, Brodern the table room is refectory in Ælfic's glossary, whence Brodworthig must be the table farm, i.e., the ground reserved for the supply of the refectory."

"In many places the Saxon word worthig, i.e., a large close, is corruptly changed into warden, worthin or worth. Thus, Bedwardine is the close or field for bread, i.e., to supply bread."

This definition might apply to St. John's, and to some extent to St. Nicholas, but an explanation which makes the supply to the refectory drawn from a parish consisting mainly of the cathedral cemetery is hardly satisfactory.

The latest writer on Worcestershire place-names adopts Green's explanation almost without any qualification :

"Bedwardine (St. John's and St. Michael's), Worcester, 1327, Bedewardyn, Nash ii, 308, because it was allotted to supply the table of the monks of Worcester with provisions. It is Anglo-Saxon : Beodworthyn, the table farm. Beod land is another term for land so appropriated."<sup>2</sup>

It can only be repeated that this definition may apply to St. John's but could not apply to St. Michael's. There is, however, no evidence that St. John's was allotted to supply the table of the Worcester monks ; on the contrary, in the Rent Roll of the Priory the rents they received from it are set out in full, and there seems to be no appropriation of any of them except a small part which was assigned to the anniversary of Prior Radulph.<sup>3</sup>

A different explanation, and one which has at least the merit of being applicable to all the parishes which have the name, has been put forward by Allies.<sup>4</sup> After quoting Nash,<sup>5</sup> who gives the same definition as that

<sup>1</sup> Green, *Hist. Worcester*, II, 47 n.

<sup>2</sup> Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Register Prioratus Wigorniensis*, ed. Hale. p. 39A.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquities and Folklore of Worcestershire*, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, p. 319.

given by Green, "supplying the table of the refectory with provisions," Allies says :—

"A question, however, may be raised whether the prefix to the name Bedwardine does not come from the French 'bord' a border, and that it and the suffix mean the Bordworthig or boundary field or close of the city. The parish of St. Michael in Bedwardine is also on the boundary of Worcester."

If such a derivation is etymologically possible it does give a common basis applicable to each of the three parishes ; St. Michael's was on the border of the city and the county, St. Nicholas had a part, an undefined part, of its area taken into the city ; so had St. John's. And it may well be that when an undefined part of a parish partly or wholly in the city is included in or surrounded by it, the word is added to the name of the parish to show that such was the case. But when a defined part of the parish, as in the case of St. Martin and St. Peter, where outside as certain manors, or as in St. Clement's, all on the east of the river, is taken into the city, the word is not used. This would make the use of the word as showing that the parish that bore it had a portion of its area in one and a portion in another jurisdiction. The weak point in this is that it only appears to be used throughout Worcestershire in connection with Worcester, in other places it was "town" and "foreign." The story of St. John's to some extent supports and to some extent upsets this view, so it should be stated. From the earliest times until towards the end of the fourteenth century the parish of St. John's was known as the parish of Wyke. As its church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert it would appear to have been built at the time of some of the Whitby missionaries. It belonged to the Priory of Worcester and the church was at the extreme west side of the parish, some two miles from the Priory. There was, however, a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist within half a mile of the city. Whether it was that the monks had become lazy, or objected to going so far to serve the church, or whether the mortality caused by the Black Death had so reduced the number of monks that they could not discharge all their duties, does not appear, but for some reason the monks persuaded Bishop William de Lynne (1368-1373) to desecrate the church

of St. Cuthbert and to create the chapel of St. John the Baptist into a parish church where the original boundaries belonging to the chapelry of St. John, do not appear, but whatever they were, they ceased to exist, being merged in the parish, an undefined part of the parish came within the city liberties, and from the date of this change the parish gained the name of St. John the Baptist in Bedwardine. The chapel, which became the parish church, is close on the boundary of the city liberties, and if Bedwardine can be correctly read as boundary, St. John's, as soon as its chapelry was done away with and it had no defined limits in the city, was at once called St. John in Bedwardine.

If Worcester was walled in in 894 so as to ensure the town against raids by land and by river, one very interesting point arises. The walls do not seem to have ever extended along the whole of the west or river side. A space of 300 or 400 yards on the Quay was always left without a wall. On the south side the wall terminated at the corner of the garden of the Bishop's Palace; on the north it did not come below the corner of Quay Street; thus leaving a long open space, where if any one landed they could rush the town. There must be some reason why this was so. It will be noticed in all the plans of Worcester that there were no forts or defensive works on the west bank of the river, and in none of the accounts of the attacks on Worcester is mention made of any. The obvious reason seems to be that the water on that side was too deep to permit even at low tide the river to be forded, and so no wall or bank were needed. That the west was the deep-water side appears to be the case; even now the bed of the river naturally shelves that way. Until, therefore, a better reason is put forward, it may be said that no defensive works were required there, as except at the ford under the fort the river was not passable. There still, however, remains the case of raiders from the river. The quay, which would be open for the landing of goods, would also be open for the landing of pirates unless there was something to prevent them reaching it. A possible and not improbable explanation may be that the river was well protected if the bridge was below the Quay.

There must have been a bridge over the river at Worcester at an early date—when it is difficult to say. The earliest mention is not until 1265, when, after Prince Edward escaped from Ludlow, the bridges over the Severn, including Worcester, were broken down in order to prevent Simon de Montfort joining his son, and it was only by the local knowledge of Bishop Cantilupe of a ford lower down the river near his palace at Kempsey, that Simon was able to cross to his death at Evesham. Whether the first bridge was stone or wood does not appear. It was repaired and largely used during Edward I.'s reign, but does not seem to have been very convenient, for when the new stone bridge was built, about 1314, the Prior and convent alleged that the conflux of strangers coming to pass over the Severn, there being no bridge between Gloucester and Bridgenorth but at Worcester, was so great that they could not, on account of the cost, keep up their full number of fifty monks; so to relieve their necessities the Bishop appropriated to them the church of Dodderhill, otherwise the Hill Church in Wich.<sup>1</sup>

In 1313 the Worcester monks sent round to collect subscriptions for rebuilding the bridge. The Prior wrote to all archdeacons and their officials—deacons, rectors, vicars and chaplains and other ministers in churches and chapels throughout the *city* and diocese of Worcester—that when R. de B., the proctor or envoy of the great bridge over the Severn at Worcester, or T. de W., his substitute, should come there to beg the alms of the faithful that they be admitted kindly and without contradiction, and whatever be collected be handed to them, and if any impede the same proctor in collecting the alms of the faithful that they be restrained by ecclesiastical censure and cited to appear before the Prior or his commissaries.<sup>2</sup> The bridge then built is said to have lasted for over four and a-half centuries; it was pulled down in September 1781.

There seems to be no record of a bridge at Worcester having ever been at any other site than that where the fourteenth-century bridge stood. But it is by no means

<sup>1</sup> Reynold's Register, 96, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Sede Vac Reg. (W. H. S.), p. 150.

clear that this was the site of the earlier bridge, which was broken down in 1265, and inference would lead to the conclusion that it was not. If the bridge was on or near the site of the ford it would be guarded by the fort, but it would do more: it would be a strong protection against any marauders coming up the river, as at high water they could hardly pass under such a bridge as would then have been built; at low tide it is doubtful if there would be sufficient water to take the piratical boats over the Diglis shoal. Thus the bridge, if near the cathedral, would form an effective barrier to navigation up to the Quay and would furnish a reason why the walls were not carried along the whole length of the river bank. It should be added that there is not any evidence to show that a bridge ever did exist at this spot. All the evidence points only to the site of the 1313 bridge. This, however, does not explain how the Quay was defended from any enemy coming down the river; as to this, except the fact that it does not seem likely that any enemy would descend the river in boats in those days, as there would be great difficulty in their return up the stream and over the fords that then existed in the river, there is nothing to be said. The fact of the open space at the Quays, still remains one of the puzzles connected with old Worcester that has to be cleared up. There is also the point why it was that no defensive works existed on the west side of the river; this seems to have been the case all through the history of the place. As to this again, the only explanation is a conjectural one, that the deep water adjoining the west bank rendered works needless, as it was impossible to ford the river here. This again is not satisfactory, but no other explanation can with our present knowledge, or rather want of knowledge, be offered.

If it is accepted that the area that was included inside the Saxon walls was the same that was included in the walls as they subsequently stood, then the development of Worcester becomes fairly certain. The line of the Worcester walls as they existed up to the time of their destruction was certainly the same from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and it is clear that within the walls a great deal of land that was then unbuilt on was

included. There is not anything to show that there was any enlargement of area between the building of Æthelfred's wall about 894 to the time of John. When after the city had received a garrison on behalf of the Dauphin, William, Marshal Earl of Chester retook it for the King, a question arose as to demolishing the walls of the rebellious city that had welcomed the French. John, however, agreed, in consideration of the payment of £100 by the citizens, not to pull down the walls. This agreement is stated in a writ on the Patent Roll.<sup>1</sup>

"The King to John Marshall and his bailiffs greeting. We order you that you pay to our well-beloved and faithful William Earl Marshal, guardian of ourself and our kingdom, the £100 which the men of Worcester promised to pay to the late John of blessed memory, our father, formerly King of England, in order that the walls of Worcester be not thrown down and that the town of Worcester remain safe from fire and destruction. And if the said men of Worcester do not pay the said £100 the walls of Worcester be levelled without delay, as our father, which yet living, ordered you. In witness whereof these our letters patent, sealed with the seal of William Earl Marshal, we have sent you. Witness the said Earl at Gloucester the 1st December in the first year of our reign (1216)."

This writ clearly proves the fact of the walls of Worcester being then standing. It seems probable that the money was paid so the walls remained standing, but the town was greatly put to it to raise the money. The Monks had to assist, and to do so the metal work round the shrine of the Sainted Wulstan had to be melted down to enable the monks to raise 300 marks.

That the walls then followed the same line as now is shown by another writ of Henry III. The walls then and subsequently ran from St. Martin's Gate to Sidbury in a line, roughly, from north to south. Remains of this part of the wall still exist. Between 1225 and 1230—the exact date is not known—the Franciscans or Minorite Friars settled in Worcester. The site of their house is shown by the name "Friar Street," and it ran from the street to the wall, the exact spot being the old city prison, now the Laslett Almshouses. The house was inside the wall, the church and cemetery outside, and the only way of communication between the two

<sup>1</sup> 1 Henry III. m. 15. Mr. St. John Hope has given me this reference.

was a small postern in the wall which was not wide enough to permit the brethren to bring in or take out the necessaries for the house. The Friars had sufficient influence to obtain in 1231 an order from the King directing the Bailiffs of Worcester to so enlarge the postern as to make it more convenient for their use. The writ which did this is on the Close Rolls,<sup>1</sup> and is as follows:—

“The King to the friars minors.

“The King on the petition of the friars minors of Worcester has granted that the postern which is in the wall of Worcester at the house of the brethren be made larger, so that their wood and other necessaries may be carried through the same postern, or that a competent road may be made for them elsewhere to carry in their goods. It is therefore ordered the bailiffs of Worcester that they make the said postern larger or make elsewhere a fit road to carry in their necessaries. Witness, Worcester, September 26.”

It does not appear what the Bailiffs did to carry out the writ. The Postern, or Friars' Gate, as it was afterwards called, remained a postern, and is spoken of 300 years afterwards by Leland when he visited Worcester about 1536. The Friars found that the alterations the Bailiffs made under the writ did not satisfy all their requirements. They were a prosperous House, and soon outgrew the space they had inside the wall. Between 1236 and 1239 they acquired a new site outside the walls in addition to the old one inside. This required a further postern and on application to the King they obtained this in 1246,<sup>2</sup> with the safeguard, however, “if the enlargement was not to the damage of the city.” That it did damage the city by weakening the defences seems to have been the case, as somewhere here an additional fort or blockhouse was erected outside the wall to cover the gate, a fort that has given its modern name to this part of the city.

These writs of Henry III. therefore prove two points, the existence of the city walls in the thirteenth century, and the fact that they then ran upon the lines that they subsequently followed, and as far as is known always followed. That line was, beginning at the Bridge near St. Clement's Church, it ran up the street known as the Butts, across Angel Street, through the

<sup>1</sup> 15 Hen. III. m. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Close 30 Hen. III. m. 2.

grounds of the Berkeley Hospital, across Foregate Street, down Sasome Street, along Watercourse Alley, over Silver Street, then in a line parallel to Friar Street and New Street, across Sidbury, enclosing St. Peter's Church, and terminating in the wall of the old enclosure of the settlement at its eastern corner. The enclosure of the settlement then extended to the river, and a wall, the wall of the Monastery, ran alongside the river up to the south end of the Quay, where it terminated. Another wall at the north end of the Quay ran along the river until it reached the bridge where the wall started.

That the wall enclosed a large space of unbuilt land is shown from a reference to another body of Friars, the Friars of the Sack or "of the penance of Jesus Christ." They also had a house on or just inside the City Wall between it and a street which still exists, called "Dolday." In 1272, the Friars applied to the King to grant them the street called "Dolday," 120 feet in length. A writ *ad quod damnum* was issued and an inquest held to inquire

"whether it was to the damage of the King or the harm of the vill of Worcester if the King granted to the Friars de pœnitentia Jesu Christi of Worcester, a certain street called Dolday, to enlarge their place in the same vill and the said street contains in length seven score feet and in breadth 11 feet."

The jury found that

"it was not to the damage of the King nor harm of the vill of Worcester, but rather to the profit and honour of the King and the profit of the citizens if the grant was made."<sup>1</sup>

From the Patent Roll it appears that the grant was made, but two years later, at the Council of Lyons (1274), this order of Friars was suppressed. In some way the devolution is not quite clear; the site of the Priory became the property of the Beauchamps, and in 1347, William Beauchamp, the Lord of Elmley, obtained a licence in mortmain to grant the land to the Friars Preachers,<sup>2</sup> they held the place up to the time of the dissolution, giving it the name, by which it is still known, "Black Friars," a street running parallel with Dolday at right angles to the City Walls.

<sup>1</sup> Inq. P.M. (W. H. S.), p. 12, No. XIX,

<sup>2</sup> Patent 21 Ed. III., pt. IV, m. 14.



The site of this house was 100 perches long by 30 perches broad. Four years after it was founded, in 1351, William Beauchamp obtained a licence in mortmain to grant the Dominicans a further two acres of land adjoining their house.<sup>1</sup> In 1391, Richard II. granted them a garden for the enlargement of theirs.<sup>2</sup> This garden was between the City Walls on the one side, and the way called Dolday on the other. From these grants it is obvious that along and adjoining the north wall of the city there was a considerable area of land which was not built upon. As there is nothing to show that on this side the city the north wall ever ran along any course other than what it then did, it is not an unfair inference that the north wall was on the line of the existing wall. If this is so and the line of the east wall was also the same as shown by the Grey Friars' house, it seems to follow that the Worcester walls from the first included the same area they subsequently did, and if it is asked what the area was, the answer must be the parish of St. Helen and such portions of other parishes as it was convenient to include.

Having traced the history of the walls of the town in order to complete the story of the development of Worcester, it is necessary to go back to the tump, and tell how Worcester came to have a castle. For the latter part of Anglo-Saxon times no one in Worcestershire takes a more prominent place than St. Oswald. He became Bishop of Worcester in 961, a young man just returned from the great Benedictine House of Fleury and most zealous to extend the Benedictine rule in England. The Worcester clergy had become very slack in the observance of any regular rule of life. Oswald was most anxious to reform them and establish the rule of St Benedict. The first question that arises in connection with his episcopate is what did he find when he arrived at Worcester? In the Rolls edition of the *Historians of the Church of York*, for the life of Archbishop Oswald no less than three lives of Oswald are given. The two most important are those by Eadmer and the Prior of Worcester Senatus. Each of these writers says that on Oswald becoming Bishop of Worcester he began to build a monastery. But it is said he went much further, as the existing

<sup>1</sup> Patent 24 Ed. III., pt. I, m. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Patent 15 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 30.

Worcester House would not adopt his views as to the Benedictine rule. He began to build a new church on the tump, the Cathedral of St. Mary. Others say that the Cathedral of St. Mary was already in existence. Whichever is the true account, one thing is quite clear, that Oswald either built or restored and enlarged an already existing church on the tump, and set up in it a rival service to that of the Worcester monks. It was more attractive. Some persons say that Oswald had brought with him from Fleury the ancient mode of chanting the service, not filtered through Norman abbies, as was afterwards the case, and that the remains of it are still to be traced in some special hymns and chants to be found only in the Worcester service books. Whatever it was, Oswald's church filled while the Monks' church was deserted, with the result that the offerings at Oswald's church increased while those in the Monastic church decreased. After a contest extending over some years, in 969 the Worcester monks surrendered to Oswald, and he became supreme. From this time there is no doubt that there were two churches on the tump, St Michael's the parish church, and the Cathedral of St. Mary's. But it is usually said there were three: St. Michael's the parish church (this is common ground); St. Mary's, Oswald's church, which he either built, or rebuilt, and St. Peter's. As has already been stated, there is a Parish Church of St. Peter, just outside the enclosure of the monastery and it seems very unlikely that there should have been a St. Peter's outside and a St. Peter's inside the wall. The fact that St. Mary and St. Peter had a cemetery in common through which the wall of the monastery went, rather points to the one church inside and the other outside the monastic enclosure. It is also remarkable that if the two churches, St. Mary's and St. Peter's, were both inside the enclosure there should be no tradition or record as to the sites of these two churches. It is true that they might have been in reality one church and that Eadmer's words—

*"Monasterium infra ipsam sedem episcopalem construere cepit . . . . Perfectam ecclesiam ipse in honore sancte et perpetue virginis dei genitricis marie dedicavit ibique ut proposuerat monachos in sancta conversatione Christo servituros congregavit"*<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of Archbishops of York* (Rolls ed.), II, 23, 24

merely mean he built some such building for common living as he had seen at Fleury with a chapel to it for the use of his monks, not a large church for the general use of the town. Senatus rather inclines to this view ; he says :

*"Monasterium infra ipsius urbis septa construere cœpit in habitationem monachorum."*<sup>1</sup>

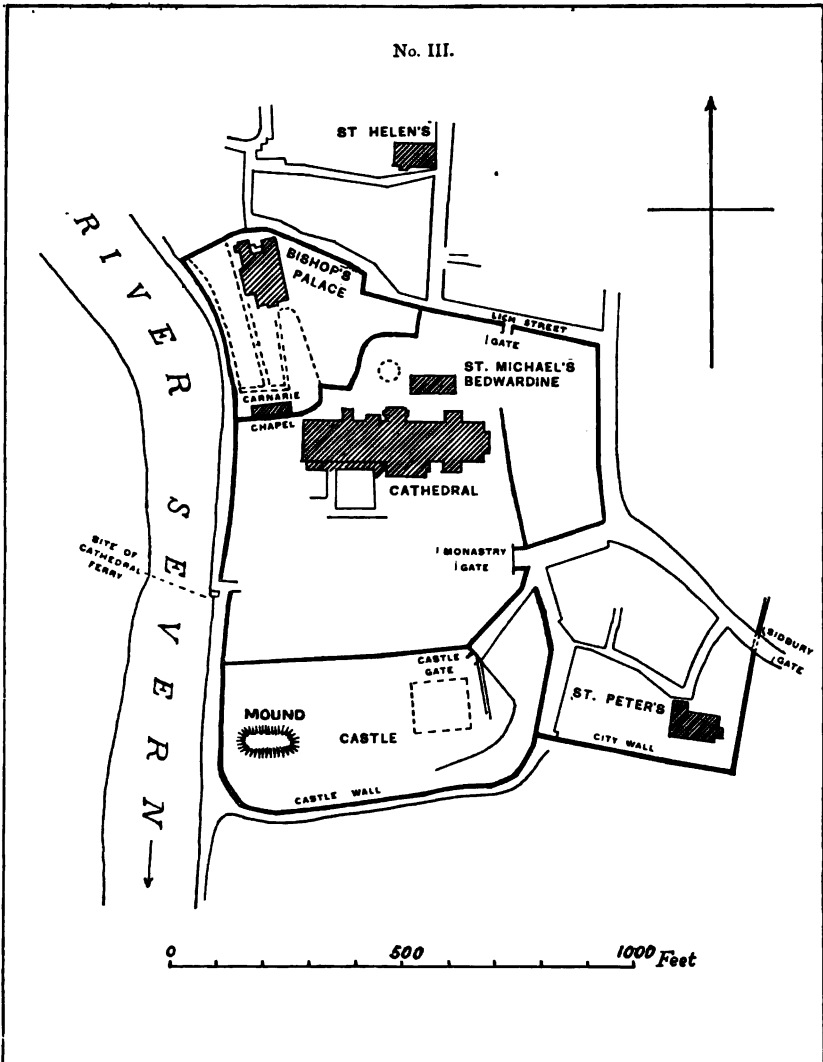
That Oswald's great object was to establish a Benedictine Monastery is clear from a passage in the anonymous life which, after describing the surrender of Wynsin, says :

*"et illis qui sub eo erant in civitate anteposuit Wynsinum reverendum presbyterum qui erat apud nostri cœnobii gymnasium eruditus cui annexit quosdam fratres ex nostro choro."*<sup>2</sup>

This seems to indicate that to some extent St. Helen's was one of the, if not the church of the Worcester seculars. Against the view here put forward that there were only in the enclosure of the monastery two churches, St. Michael's and St. Mary's, and that St. Peter's was the St. Peter outside, two facts should be stated. Oswald in his contest with the Worcester monks had a troublesome opponent named Wulfgar ; when the monk surrendered and Wynsin was made Prior, Oswald gave Wulfgar the church of St. Peter by the south wall.<sup>2</sup> This distinguishing description of St. Peter's church, which obviously refers to the parochial church of St. Peter, at first sight leads to the inference that the church of St. Peter outside the wall differed from the church of St. Peter inside ; hence the additional name. It is, however, not a little remarkable that this seems to be the first time any addition is made to the name of the church of St. Peter, and it may well be that to emphasize his victory and to make it quite clear that St. Peter's had nothing further to do with the monastery or the see of Worcester, the addition was made to the name, not to distinguish it from another St. Peter's but to put an end once and for all to any claims that church could make to be other than a parish church by showing by her very name that the site was a mere accident and gave her no rights or privileges, and that, as William of Malmesbury expresses it, the *janitrix cœli* triumphed over the *clavier paradisi*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of Archbishops of York*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, I, p. 435.





The other point is that in later times there were certainly two churches of St. Peter, and St. Peter by the south wall became known as St. Peter the Great to distinguish it from the other St. Peter. There is not very much known of the other St. Peter, and it is most likely that it did not come into existence until some time after Oswald's death. The first mention I have been able to find of it is in 1276, when William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was then hereditary keeper of the Castle of Worcester, presented Richard de Powick to the Chapel of St. Peter in the Castle of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> From this it seems fairly clear that the Chapel of St. Peter of the Castle was merely a chapel for the use of the Castle, and until the Castle was built was not in existence. At all events, it could not have been the *monastic* church of St. Peter, for being part of the Castle, it was outside the monastic enclosure, and had any of the keepers of Worcester Castle attempted to make any monastic church part of their castle, we have sufficient details of the long quarrel between the monks, the keeper of the Castle and the Sheriff to be quite sure some mention of it would have been made. As nothing of the sort appears, it is only fair to conclude that the Chapel of St. Peter in the Castle of Worcester had nothing to do either with the early parish church of St. Peter or with the monastic church of the same saint, if there was one, but was part of the Castle.

This brings up the question, When was the Castle of Worcester built? The eighteenth century historians of Worcester give it a very early origin. Green says—<sup>2</sup>

"That there was a fortress of the Romans here, afterwards turned into a citadel by the Saxons and honoured by the residence of the Viceroy of the Wicci, is sufficiently credible, though history affords no direct and positive proof of it."

The earliest mention of a *castle* that I am aware of is in a charter of Oswald's in 989,<sup>3</sup> which says:

*"Ego Oswaldus divina favente clementia archiepiscopus quandam partikulam telluris de Monasterio Sanctæ Mariæ in Wirogorna castello videlicet unam mansam et dimidam in loco nuncupante Northtun, etc."*

<sup>1</sup> Giff. Reg. (W. H. S.), 89.

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Kemble Cod. Dipl. III, 247, No. 671.

Assuming the charter to be genuine—and Kemble does not star it—it seems at first sight to say that the Monastery of St. Mary was in the Castle of Worcester, yet this cannot be its meaning. *Castellum* cannot possibly here mean castle in its modern sense of the word. It must mean the fortress or town of Worcester. There is some evidence that no castle in the modern sense existed in 1041. When Hardicanute's huscarls were sent to collect the Danegelt in that year, the Worcester citizens refused to pay, a riot ensued; the huscarls fled for shelter to a tower of the monastery.<sup>1</sup> Had there been a castle then in existence in which they could have taken refuge it is more probable that they, the royal servants, would have fled to the royal Castle, where they would have been safe, rather than to the monastery where they might not. It will be observed it was to a tower of the monastery, not to the church or sanctuary that they fled.

There is also evidence that some three years after the Conquest, in 1069, Urso d'Abitot, the Norman Sheriff, began to carry out some works at Worcester. These works were said to be making a castle, and were on the tump on the south side of the monastery between it and the Frog Brook. In carrying out his works the monks said that he took in a portion of their cemetery. What precisely was it that Urso built? All the writers of Mr. Freeman's school say a castle, a castle of stone :<sup>2</sup>

"the badge of the great change to which the Norman Conquest had put the finishing stroke."

Excavation—and the excavation has been thorough, for the castle has been carted away—has disclosed no remains of a stone castle. What it has shown is that there was an entrenched area on which stood an artificial mound composed of sand and gravel on sandstone foundations; the west base of the mound close to the river; the apex of the mound was 80 feet above the high water mark of the river.<sup>3</sup> This mound, or "motte," was what Urso constructed for defensive purposes, a cone-shaped barrow

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, V, Rolls ed. II, 732, Flor. Wig. Eng. Hist. Soc., I, 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Norman Conquest*, 648.

<sup>3</sup> *Allies, Antiquities, etc.*, p. 15.

surrounded by a ditch, with a stockade on the summit.<sup>1</sup> The barrow stood in an enclosed area, a base court or building, surrounded by a bank and a ditch. It was this enclosure that encroached on the land of the Monastery, enclosed part of its property, and led to the dispute between the Sheriff of Worcestershire and the Monks that lasted until 1217, when, under Henry III., the enclosed piece was restored to them. All the old plans of Worcester, from that of Speed in the sixteenth century to that of Chambers in the nineteenth, show this motte of Urso's standing on the south side of the Monastery near the river. It seems a simple mode of defence, but the mound, ditch and palisade proved very effective. In 1088 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, speaking of the rebellion on the Welsh Marches, says :

"and the chief men of Hereford and all that shire forthwith and the men of Shropshire with many people from Brytland (Wales) came and harried and burnt in Worcestershire on till they came to the city itself, and would then burn the city, plunder the monastery and win the king's castle into their hands."<sup>2</sup>

Here the motte is called the King's Castle. The rebels did not attack it, so there was no opportunity to show the strength of Urso's work.

Although the motte was standing in 1086, when the Domesday survey was made, there is no mention therein of a castle at Worcester, possibly because it furnished nothing to tax. Only one castle in the county, that of William Fitz Ansculf at Dudley, is mentioned, and this was possibly a stone castle on the motte. In 1140 the Empress Maud took Worcester, but failed to carry the motte or castle. It is said the Castle was erected at this time, but it probably means that additional works were thrown up to guard the bailey.<sup>3</sup>

Ten years later, in 1149, Stephen took and burnt Worcester, but was unable to take the Castle. Although regularly besieged he failed to carry it.<sup>4</sup>

In 1216 William Marshall, son of the Earl of Pembroke, held the Castle for the Dauphin.<sup>5</sup> In July

<sup>1</sup> See Mrs. Armitage's paper, *English Historical Review*, XIX, pp. 209 and 454; *Archæologia*, LVIII, p. 313. Round Geoffrey de Mandeville, Appendix O, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls ed. II, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Flor. Wig. (Eng. Hist. Soc.), II, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Hen. Hunt Rolls series, 282.

<sup>5</sup> Ann. Monast., IV, 406.



of that year the Earl of Chester surprised and carried it for the King. This led to the Agreement of 1217, which settled the quarrel between the Monastery and the Castle as to the enclosure of Urso. The Worcester annalist thus records it :—

“The Castle of Worcester is surrendered to us as part of our property as far as the motte tower on the eve of Easter by the King’s writ under the seal of William Marshall his guardian, and Bishop Sylvester excommunicated all who did anything against it.”<sup>1</sup>

The “motte tower” the King retained in his own hands, but granted the custody of it to Walter de Beauchamp. Probably the buildings that were built were erected between this grant and the year 1263, as in that year a force of the rebel Barons under Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, attacked and took Worcester, making their entrance by the old castle.<sup>2</sup>

*“Cui cum cives muralia civitatis et portas custodiendo viriliter restitissent tandem ex inopinato per vetus castrum intravit qui et villam destruxit ac Judaisimum evertit.”*

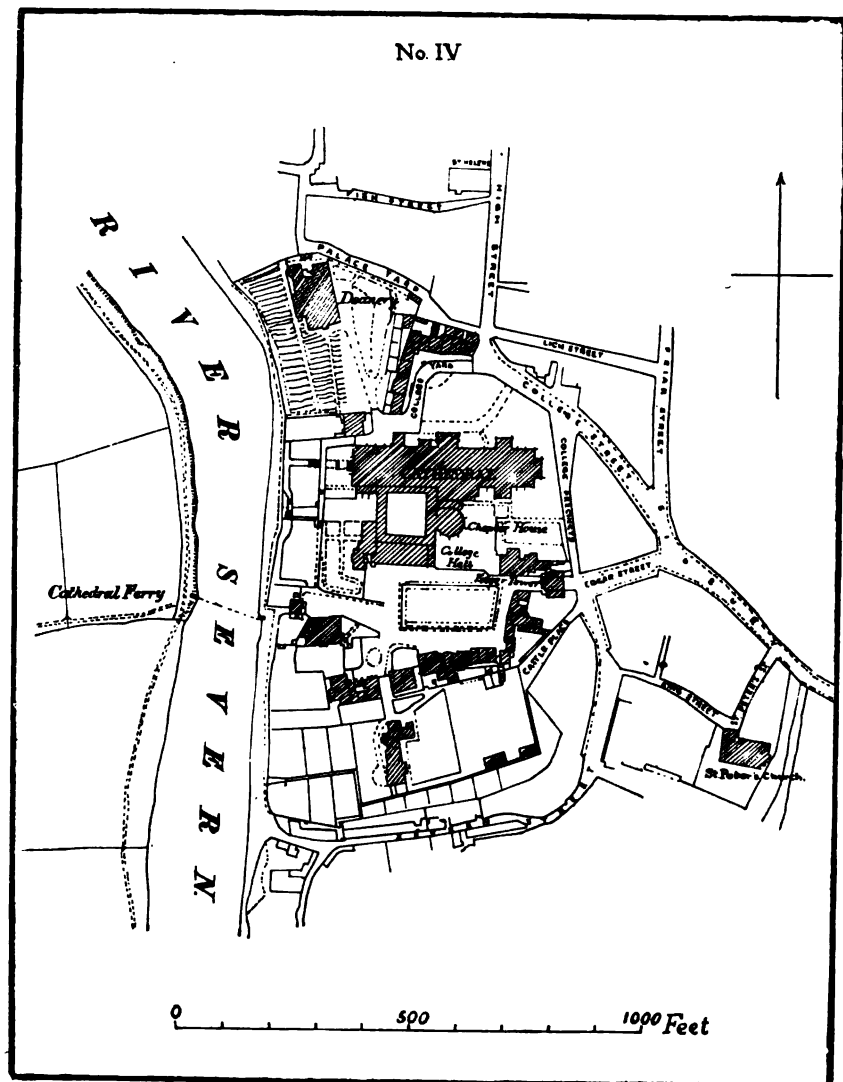
This period of building would also be the time of the erection of the Chapel of St. Peter in the Castle, and it may well be that the presentation of Richard de Powick in 1276 was the first presentation to it<sup>3</sup> made by William de Beauchamp, who was the keeper of the Castle for the King as sheriff. There does not appear to be any precise record as to what the buildings of the Castle were.

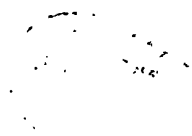
From this time onwards the history of the Castle does not directly affect the story of the development of Worcester. As the sheriff was the King’s officer he kept the King’s prisoners in the Castle, and this led to the Castle degenerating into the county prison ; so it remained until 1833, when the judges of assize, under threat of indictment, compelled the county to build a new prison. The Crown then sold the site of the Castle, the mound was carted away, and the land on which the motte stood is now the play-ground of the boys in the Cathedral school. Traces of the wall separating the bailey of the Castle from the Monastery can still be seen, but the rampart which formed the southern defence against the Frog Brook has completely disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Monast., IV, 407.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. West, Flores Historiarum, Rolls Series, II, 486.

<sup>3</sup> Giffard Reg. (W. H. S.), p. 89.





The tump had a final development. Up to the time of the Conquest, so far as is known, the bishop lived with the monks in the Monastery. Wulstan appears to have been the first bishop to have given up the custom and dwelt by himself. When he did this does not appear, but it was before 1088, for on the attack of the Marcher Lords on Worcester in that year, it is said by Florence of Worcester that the bishop retired with the others into the Castle.<sup>1</sup> The precise position of the new residence appears in an account of the building of the chapel to the Carnarie in 1224, which is said to have been built in that year between the Cathedral and the bishop's palace.<sup>2</sup> In 1270 Bishop Giffard obtained the King's licence to crenellate the palace and fortify it with an enclosure of embattled walls. This he carried out. Beginning at the north-west corner of the Priory wall, he carried on the wall enclosing his palace a little distance along the river, and then turning sharp to the east, continued the wall round the corner of the tump until it joined the old Monastery wall at an acute angle.

This enclosure was the last that was made on the tump and completed its occupation. The old palace is the present Deanery and some remains of Giffard's work are still to be seen in it. Part of it formed the bishop's prison, and the bishop's registers have frequent entries of clerks being appointed by the bishop to demand from the King's judges the delivery up to the bishop of any clerks charged with a criminal offence; these clerks on delivery were taken from the Castle and placed in the bishop's prison. That is, the prisoners were conveyed from the south-east corner of the tump, the King's prison, and formally handed over to the bishop's nominee, who took the prisoners to the north-west corner of the tump, the bishop's prison. Possibly the prisoners were quite as happy or happier in the King's prison as in the bishop's.

Such is a rough outline of the evolution of Worcester. It is really the story of the tump. It starts with early, possibly prehistoric, times, when at the intersection of two forest tracks near a tidal ford some persons dwelt to guide or guard travellers crossing the ford. Then came

<sup>1</sup> Flor. Wig. (Eng. Hist. Soc.), II, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Habington.

the necessity of making a safe place for the shelter of the guardians of the ford, and this was done by throwing up a bank round the few huts. Missionaries came, and after ingratiating themselves with the inhabitants, were allowed to dwell in the shelter; this led to the Monastery becoming part of the settlement. The Monastery increased and enclosed a space of its own. Then came other inhabitants who dwelt round the settlement, and after a time, for their own protection, enclosed the town by walls. Then came the Norman fortifications, a motte and a bailey or courtyard. Then a stone castle, which degenerated into the ordinary prison, while the last remaining corner of the tump was enclosed by the bishop, who, under royal licence, built a defensive house surrounded by its own walls, the last feature in the general development of the tump.

Ford, Settlement, Monastery, Castle, Mound, Palace, seem to be the successive steps in development which turned Worcester from a few huts into a flourishing city.

THE MAKING OF PLACE HOUSE AT TITCHFIELD,  
NEAR SOUTHAMPTON, IN 1538.

By W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., Vice-President.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most interesting buildings visited during the Southampton Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in July, 1902, was the ruined Tudor mansion at Titchfield known as Place House.

Hitherto our knowledge of its story has been dependent on John Leland, who wrote in his *Itinerary*, about 1542 (iii. 95) :

Mr. Wriothesley hath buildid a right stately House embatelid, and having a goodely Gate, and a Conducte castelid in the Midle of the Court of it, yn the very same Place wher the late Monasterie of *Premonstratenses* stooode caullyd *Tichefelde*.

The monastery in question was founded for Premonstratensian or White Canons in 1231, by Peter bishop of Winchester. It was suppressed in December, 1537, and on the 30th of the same month the site and buildings of the abbey were granted to Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Lord High Chancellor and Earl of Southampton.

Wriothesley proceeded, as Leland describes, to convert the monastic buildings into a mansion for himself, and a prominent part of the existing ruins is the "goodely Gate" which he built across the site of the nave of the abbey church. But of his castled conduit in the middle of the court, once the canons' cloister, nothing now remains. The greater part of Wriothesley's mansion has shared the same fate, much of it having been pulled down in 1781 and succeeding years by the Delmés, who then owned the place. Oddly enough, the destruction of much of the Tudor work has revealed in what is left a good deal of the monastic buildings, and when I first visited

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute on November 4th, 1903.

Titchfield early in the eighties in search of the remains of the abbey, I had no difficulty in identifying the cloister square, the whole of the nave of the church, and interesting traces of the chapter house, the frater, and other buildings.

There is a drawing by the brothers Buck in 1733 which represents the south front of Place House much in the state in which it was left by Wriothesley. Later engravings by Grose, made in 1761 and 1782, as well as an important drawing by the same artist, also done in the latter year, give us other aspects of the buildings from different points of view.

These and other facts have all been embodied in a paper by the Rev. G. W. Minns in the *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* in 1898, but Mr. Minns does not seem to have been aware of the existence of an important series of letters in the Public Record Office which describe to us the making of Place House in 1538. These letters have lately been transcribed, partly by myself and partly, for me, by my friend Mr. Wm. Page. They are not only interesting in themselves, but illustrate in a very curious way what must have been done in many other like cases to convert, at a moderate cost, a series of buildings that were planned for a totally different purpose. The letters are, unfortunately, only part of a series, of which the rest is lost, and we have not those from Wriothesley himself, containing his directions and opinions of the work to be done.

The surrender of the abbey by the Abbot and Convent took place on 18th December, 1537, before John Crayford, clerk, and Roland Lathom, the King's Commissioners.

Four days later, on the 22nd of the month, Crayford and Lathom, writing to Wriothesley, describe the abbey church as most naked and barren, being of such antiquity, and estimate the expense of altering the buildings at 300 marks at least.

By the issue of the King's letters patent on 30th December, Wriothesley obtained full possession of the abbey, and on 2nd January, Crayford and Lathom wrote jointly to him at some length giving details and suggestions of the alterations proposed to be made in the buildings and grounds. These details begin somewhat

abruptly, after some opening remarks that have no bearing on the matter, in the following fashion :

f. 25]

As for pantre buttre seller & lardo<sup>r</sup>/ no man in Hampsher hath [farther *struck through*] better and more hansom cowched together | the Kechyn ys large & old & may w<sup>t</sup> litle charge be maide new in the same place/ the hall ys divided to stonde in plan covenable for the p<sup>r</sup>mysses & the dore to appere in the greate court/ which wolbe Sqware every way an hundreth ffootē | a gallory of xiiij footē brode & the same Leynth w<sup>t</sup> the co<sup>r</sup>te if you list/ & asmuch, for servante lodynge/ abated.

f. 26] all houses of offices sufficiently had w<sup>t</sup>oute change now towardē you was in vayne: if the church shuldbē altered as yo<sup>u</sup> divide/ yo<sup>a</sup> shall understand that the church is furthest south from all other lodgyngē. Joynyng to the gardyng & orchard/ soe the kechyng ther & the synk must be allyed w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Rosemary and Lavendre &c. so that we allowe yo<sup>r</sup> owne writing wher yo<sup>a</sup> say yo<sup>r</sup> phantasie to be sett as the blynd caste his staffe/ yo<sup>r</sup> presence here wolde see more of yo<sup>r</sup> owne in an owre than at Mycheldever in a yere/ All the church must downe with the steple (onely that porcon which is north from the steple & knytt w<sup>t</sup> the dorter to stonde) for yo<sup>r</sup> dynyng plor & chape beneth/ & for lodgyngē above of two stories if yo<sup>a</sup> list/ leaded and battled above/ w<sup>t</sup> fayer Crestē & prospectē west & south upon yo<sup>r</sup> gardyng orchard (?) & court/ it was to long to write all/ to be breve/ you may have w<sup>t</sup> reasonable charge an house for the Kingē grace to bate & for any baron to kepe his hospitalite in/ yo<sup>a</sup> shall ascende in to yo<sup>r</sup> hall wherof the Rowff ys made & right ffayer the walles stoundyng & substanciall/ yo<sup>r</sup> Closet may not stonde | ther must be lightē for the side of the hall/ the chapele & closette be settells wher as afore is specified |

f. 26b] The frater may be lodgyngē as yo<sup>a</sup> write & the side of the court all above | undre that allmost the holle leyingh is ther 'a' buttre vaulted right well for [xxx altered to] lx tonn of bere or wyne/ next unto that estward the pantre/ w<sup>in</sup> that the Sello<sup>r</sup> for wyne both vaulted awnswering to both/ Southward & next unto this the hall fightie ffootē or more in leyingh as yo<sup>a</sup> woll/ the hiegh desk to Joyne w<sup>t</sup> that porcon of the church that shall stond/ in the which as is said/ beneth next to the hiegh desk of the hall yo<sup>r</sup> dynyng plo<sup>r</sup> &c. This we have grossly described | our phantasies & studies also | touching the situacion of the principall partē of yo<sup>r</sup> place/ much more ys to be sayd/ Differed unto o<sup>r</sup> meteing . . . <sup>1</sup>

They go on to describe how they went to view the fishponds, of which there were four, "a mile in length to ford and harbour," and estimated to contain 100,000 "carpes, tenches, breams and pike," "besides ij fayer pondes at your dore."

<sup>1</sup> The sloping lines in this and the other letter are in the original; the vertical lines have been inserted by

the writer of this paper, in the absence of stops, to make the sense more clear.



To return to the text of the letter. It will be seen that the pantry, buttery, cellar, and larder, which were so handsomely "couched" together, formed the sub-vault of the frater on the north side of the cloister; the buttery, which was capable of holding 60 barrels or tuns of beer or wine, occupying the chief part, with the pantry to the east of it, and within that the wine cellar. The larder probably adjoined the "old kitchen," somewhere to the west of the frater. The hall which was devised to stand seems to have been the cellarer's guest hall in the western range, and was to have a new entrance from the court. The court, by which we are to understand the cloister, is described as 100 foot square (it is actually about 95 feet), and if the new owner list he may have a gallery 14 feet broad of the same length as the court. This suggests the retention and conversion of the alleys of the cloister.

It seems to have been Wriothlesley's wish to make a kitchen in the western part of the abbey church, which is correctly described as "furthest south from all other lodgynges," and as joining to the garden and orchard. But if that were done, Crayford and Lathom point out, the kitchen and its sink would then be allied with the flower garden, or "rosemary and lavendre" as it is prettily called, which was not desirable.

The writers advise the downing of the steeple and all the church, except the part "which is north from the steeple and knit with the dorter," that is to say, the north transept, or "yle" as they later call it, and the buildings adjoining. These, they say, can be converted into a dining parlour and chapel on the ground floor, with two stories of chambers above, all leaded and embattled, with a pleasing prospect from the roof. A new dining hall was in building, of which we shall hear more. It had already got a "right fair" new roof, but the windows or "lightes for the side of the hall" had yet to be provided.

The frater, according to Wriothlesley's suggestion, was to be converted into lodgings, and "the side of the court all above," by which I suppose is meant an upper story to the north alley of the cloister. "Southward and next unto" the frater, or more correctly south-east of it, was

to be a new hall, 50 feet or more in length, with its daïs or "high desk" at the church end. By this arrangement its south wall would abut against the old north transept.

The letter resumes after the mention of the fish-ponds :

f. 27]

Mr. Sherlond was here on Sunday and from Este Meane xiiij myles off/ som halfe a dd of neighbo<sup>r</sup> to visite yo<sup>r</sup> mano<sup>r</sup> & view o<sup>r</sup> hospitalite wher as they hadd meate drink & lodging and have promysed to retorne and bye marble stones aulters ymages tables &c. upon the which we propose to levye our Christemas charges/ M<sup>rs</sup> Wriothesley nor yo<sup>r</sup> neither be not meticulous ne scrupulous to make sale of such holly thinge having ensample of a good devoute bisshop of Rome called Alexander whos epitaphie ys writ after this sort/ *vendit Alexander cruces altaria Christi vendere jure potest/ emerat ille prius/* M<sup>rs</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> husbond woll open the sence of thies ij verses/ as for plukyng downe of the church is but a small matter mynding (as we doubt not but you woll) to buyld a Chaple [f. 27b] for lak of tyme & opportunite to mak a new plat I have sent yo<sup>r</sup> owne agayne corrected as we think meate: yf it like you no wors than us/ all shalbe well/ view yo<sup>r</sup> owne platt wher you can & wey every pcell of it whan we

The letter concludes :

Writ the second dai of Januarij by yo<sup>r</sup> owne most obsequious & redy to obey

John Craiford and  
Rowland Lathum.<sup>1</sup>

It is unfortunate that Wriothesley's plat, with the corrections made by his "most obsequious" agents, has not been preserved with their letter.

The second epistle deals with a variety of subjects and tells us so little that I have not thought it necessary to transcribe it. "Fine beds, carpets, and cushions" seem to have been sent to Titchfield from Micheldever to furnish the new buildings, but as the letter was written on the same date as the preceding, it says nothing more about the alterations in progress. It is signed by Crayford, Lathom, John Whyte, Thomas Knyghte and Anthony Roke.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. R. O. *Letters and Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*, Vol. 128.

<sup>2</sup> For an abstract of the letter, see James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers,*

*Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.* (London, 1892), XIII. pt. i. No. 20, p. 7.

The third letter is from Anthony Roke to Wriothesley, and undated, but is believed to have been written on 21st January. The letter itself is a long one, relating to a variety of business, and only part of it refers to Titchfield :

fryday we kept Co'te at Crofton/ yesterday being Saturday at Swanwyk. and soo from thens I am come foder to Micheldever/ which ys contrary to that I dyd write in my last letter by Mr Maxwell bicause of the sekenes/ but I trust that was bothe fered and reported to me more than I hope shall nede/ for the Carpenter and those that was reappointed to have had the seckones be all well and hole/ yet neverthelesse he stayeth from his labor taking downe the Church of the Abbey bicause we wold be loth to adventure w<sup>t</sup> hym before the change of the moon and so we likewise warned hym and all hys not to come unto the parisshe Church/ the pavement of the body of the Church ys taken up *alredy* where ys scantly saved the xth tyle/ they be so rotten & worne thyn/ this weke comyng we shalbe still keping more Co'te till it be about fryday: also we do take this weke far men of Overton to come to see the south Isle for the buylding of a Towre for ther bellē we her do think it good to sell it by grote (?) and to lett them take it downe/ as we shall doo therin soo shall yo<sup>r</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>ship be ascertyned from tyme to tyme/ sithens Mr Crafordē departing nowe is (?) William Carpenters comyng heder Mr Mylle opinion ys nowe to have the hall of the frater whiche ys clene from Mr Craiford & for the love of God if it be possible se it yo<sup>r</sup>selfe that ther be no labour lost hereafter

From Anthony Roke.<sup>1</sup>

It would be interesting to know what was the sickness from which the carpenter and his fellows were suffering and which necessitated their isolation from the villagers ; also what the change of the moon had to do with their recovery. The church at Overton referred to was almost entirely rebuilt in 1853.

The fourth of the series of letters is a short one, written to Wriothesley by Richard Lee, dated at Lewes the 25th March :

After my most herty and due Recomendacions I have bene at Tychefeld, wher as your werke procedeth well, but not so well as I wold they did they intende to make the rouf of yo<sup>r</sup> hall shorter then I purposed hit/ by reason they will have the Screne covered, which verely shalbe a disviqueryng of it/ and lytell money saved thereby, but ye may remedy it if ye list and no money lost they lack mony

<sup>1</sup> P. B. O. *Wriothesley Letters*, No. 33.

masons ther to spede it my Shipp is come thid<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> stuf and shortly goth thens laden w<sup>th</sup> loggē.

From Lewys the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of Marche by yo<sup>r</sup> owne to command  
Rychard Lee.<sup>1</sup>

The shortening of the hall roof complained of by Lee seems to have been done by carrying up the front of the screens, instead of making the more usual gallery above open to the hall itself.

The next letter is from John Crayford, and as it is dated 12th April, more than three months after his former one, we are able to follow the progress made in the new works :

f. 100.] Sir I hertely cōmende me unto yō | & wher as I pmyssed to have writ unto yo<sup>r</sup> wife/ it will not be/ until I have leysu<sup>r</sup> & opportunitie for the same/ lately as on tuysdai last til nyght at Southwik. yesterday at the same place for ij beames lakkyng for the north yle/ the rest of that day & this day cōferryng & divising w<sup>t</sup> bortyew wyndowes & chymneys in the said north yle beneth/ & other places/ & also goying to Hampton to speke w<sup>t</sup> m hutofft what shalbe payed for stone & freight which now ys cōmed from Cane of m lovedayes pvision: & it pleased yō to let me know what yō disbo<sup>r</sup>sed for all pvisions: I wold signyfy agayne what ys receyved for yo<sup>r</sup> money & pennyworthes yō have therefor in my Judgement/ the halle rowffe wolbe redy soon after easter/ the walls afor easter will ryse on both sides to the hedes & volsaurs of them/ the porch ys tenñ footes hiegh | on the formost part or front the lightes of the bay wȳdow begynns | forty footes of the dortor wher thall was ys floured w<sup>t</sup> Somers & giestē | xx fotes of the vault shall stonde, & yō will not contrary | whr yō plo<sup>r</sup> & great chamber &c shalbe giestēd & bo<sup>r</sup>ded upon the same & eqall w<sup>t</sup> thother that ys rered/ one part of the vault shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> wyne sellor | an other the body of yo<sup>r</sup> chapell | The rest an hawte pace & seller barr/ pchance if all shold be leffted w<sup>t</sup> giestē & Somers, & so borded, yō myght have yo<sup>r</sup> plo<sup>r</sup> & great chamber Flowre lye lowgher one Foote & spende for the same Twenty nobles/ now from the wallplate to the Flowre ytt ys xj Footes & to the Camber rowffe v footes moo/ xvj in all above yo<sup>r</sup> hede & styrr<sup>r</sup> noo vault/ do what yō list & send word therof. I am pvided of Joyno<sup>r</sup> | send the next wek afore easter/ iij plasterers

we have cōmed & braught from loveday now at Hampton plaster of parishe | yō have done for m White in one day on hundreth markē w<sup>th</sup> of pfett besides his dwelling/ which ys right pleas<sup>nt</sup> | what we dyd ther & bylow will not be/ here cōprehended for lak of tyme &c | wher as I have bought & pchause efterward pceyvinge the thinges not to be meat for you/ I may sell them agayn to avoyde the penaltie of the kingē statut | I wold desire

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. *Letters and Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*, Vol. 130, f. 129.

my discharge by yo<sup>r</sup> tres gyvyng me auctorhrite to do the same yf  
any froward villane wold chalendge me for yt herafter etc. etc.

J. Craiiford.

(*First postscript.*) f. 101.] Wher yō wold part of the chauncell to be  
takn downe, for my sake, & part to stand for yo<sup>r</sup> owne/ I wil gyve place  
to you & let all stond, dyvided in thre lodgynges/ halfe of the towre  
to be pcel of thone galery/ thother half something abated to be yo<sup>r</sup>  
study & for sweate waters/ the second galery towardē the Court to  
cutt off/ wher you appoynted, borrowing xij fotē wherw<sup>t</sup> to enter into  
the haute pace/ & so to the lodgynges of the body of the church/  
thre chambers one/ & two an other lodging w<sup>t</sup> thappo<sup>r</sup>ten<sup>ce</sup>/

such busynes we have to com to yo<sup>r</sup> qwere lodgyngē beneth/  
althingē upright/ but when yo<sup>r</sup> qwere doth stond as suffer the steple  
getting in the myddē to be taken downe for ells/ ther ys no defacyng  
of the church/ & further bartyew & yo<sup>r</sup> rowgh cason cōcludes that  
Smoke shallnot be avoyded by the chēneys of yo<sup>r</sup> chieffe lodgyngē/  
if the steple stonde/ or of necessary[te] yō must reyse yo<sup>r</sup> Tunnells  
as hiegh as the tow[re] not past above the batelment of yo<sup>r</sup>  
lodgyngē <sup>xx</sup> Footē hiegh Tonells & great charge/ ev<sup>y</sup> part of the  
church ys strongar/ then the towre beneth/ for all ys open on iiij sydes  
set upon arches/ I wold not that my loving counsell should tū<sup>n</sup>e yo<sup>r</sup>  
hart & favo<sup>r</sup> from me/ then I had a thanksles office & unprofitable, but  
I beleve better that ys/ that you woll here me graciously & do what  
yō list/ yo<sup>r</sup> being here some day wold Judge all/ ease & levy my hart  
Which yō may borrow in easter weke & yō will/ I cast away | god kepe  
you in helth & from yo<sup>r</sup> ennymyes

Yo<sup>r</sup> owne J. C.

*Endorsed:*

To the right<sup>t</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>shipfull and his most assured friend Mr.  
Wriothesley

also:

From Mr. Craiiford to Mr. W.<sup>1</sup>

We learn from this letter that the conversion of the transept or "north yle" was going on apace, and that the hall roof was to be done soon after Easter. Its windows were also far advanced to the heads and "volsaurs" (*voussoirs*) of them, which were being wrought in Caen stone. The new porch to the hall was already 10 feet high, and the lights of the bay window over it were in place. The proposed hall in the dorter seems to have been abandoned for a new one in the frater, for Crayford now says that "forty footes of the dorter wher thall *was* ys floured with sommers and giestes." It will be remembered, too, that Anthony

<sup>1</sup> P.B.O. *Letters and Papers*, Dom. Henry VIII., Vol. 131.

Roke reported that "Mr. Mylles's opinion is nowe to have the hall of the frater, whiche ys clene from (i.e. contrary to) Mr. Craiford"; evidently Mr. Mylles had his way. Eighty feet of the dorter subvault were to remain, subject to Wriothesley's approval; and part was to form the wine cellar and another part the body of the chapel. The rest was to serve as a halpace, cellarage, etc. Above the subvault were the parLOUR and great chamber, which can be made higher by lowering the floor one foot, without disturbing the vault under, and then they will be 11 feet up to the wall plate and 16 feet to the cambered roof overhead.

The postscript gives further details concerning the church. The "chauncel" or quire was to be divided into three lodgings. Half of the area of the central tower was to form part of a gallery, and the rest to serve as a study and for "sweate waters." A second gallery facing the court was to be shortened by 12 feet for an entry to a halpace or landing, and to the lodgings in the body or nave of the church, which consisted of three chambers and another lodging with its appurtenances. There seems to have been some difficulty in making a proper approach to the "quere lodgings beneath," that is on the ground floor. Crayford was also very anxious for the demolition or lowering of the tower, which had so far been suffered to stand, since otherwise the church could not be defaced and the smoke would not be "avoided" by the new chimneys, unless they were raised much higher and at great cost.

The question of the destruction of the steeple was evidently much on Crayford's mind, for having occasion to write a further letter the same day (12th April), he added a postscript with reference to it :

f. 102. At Southwak<sup>1</sup> I bowght the laver certeyn white glasse paving stones a Few/ wyndowes glass yron & stone chepe ynowgh w<sup>t</sup> othr thinge as Docto<sup>r</sup> peter can sho yō . . . . Every man wold have the steple downe as a thing in the mydest of yo<sup>r</sup> forefront Defacing tholl & of no pfeit nor pleāsre/ other wold also have the body rowff of the church taken down & set up agayn after the walls war as low/ as the Rest of yo<sup>r</sup> howse Rekening then that yo<sup>r</sup> place shuld be square & semely/ so that I am in a

<sup>1</sup> Southwick Priory, in Hants.

greate pplexyte what I may do to please yo<sup>a</sup> when so many shall  
contrary my doyngē: I wold therfor right gladly afore any greater  
expēses that you saw all thingē w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> owne eye . . . . .<sup>1</sup>

The last of the letters was written a week later, on  
17th April, 1538, and also by Crayford.

f. 163. . . . Many do preyse yo<sup>r</sup> worke | som so hieghly that they  
sey/ Noman in England w<sup>t</sup>oute exception/ for the quantite of it shall  
have a strongar more bewtyfull nete & pleas<sup>u</sup>nt house | altho they or  
he shuld spend three thowsand poundē more than yo<sup>a</sup> shall/ &  
Why? the walls be so good/ tholde platt pper trouyd aforhand |  
Thold aslo<sup>a</sup> & frestone shoys lyke white m<sup>o</sup>bell | as for Tymber Rag  
bryk & frestone we have godde fusioū/ Tyles & Slate we cannot  
lak/ bewarf of Dover lyme | such plenty in the virgyns chaple made  
w<sup>t</sup> the chalke that cōmys of yo<sup>r</sup> vaultē as no man lyving can be  
better served & I trust y<sup>t</sup> shall appere to go forward with such  
spede by mydsomer as never no work hath done in so short space w<sup>t</sup>  
so Few wo<sup>k</sup>men | & wher I lately wrote to know yo<sup>r</sup> pleasur in  
many thingē & here tell of no awndswer from yo<sup>a</sup> agayn: I have  
delyverd with my self & thinke meate that tholle dorio<sup>r</sup> floore be  
grefted & bo<sup>r</sup>ded the vaultē woll make lyme, underneth yo<sup>a</sup> shall  
have a goodly & a pleas<sup>u</sup>nt Sōmer plo<sup>r</sup>/ a fayer lodging of ij or iij  
chambers/ the body of the chape/ & an hawte pace to cōveye unto  
a vice/ towarde the garding/ which woll bring up sutors and gaste  
unto yo<sup>r</sup> greate chamber galery or dyning plo<sup>r</sup> or ells your closset  
/Writ at ij of the klok erely the xvij of Aprill. John Craiford.

(*Postscript.*) f. 164.] Take not my sayeing that so greate a work can  
upp by mydsomar | god knowyth that day & with good dyet (such as  
I kepe now) I wold not mystrust to see yt/ but and we had ffreasons  
but onely to occupy a lad & iij brykleyers & yet we have alredy a  
browne dowson/ I wold say sore to the new syde of yo<sup>r</sup> house to the  
church northyle and qwere/ afor myghelmes/ I dowbt not /yea I well  
knowe yt that you are not more hasty & spedy in making necessary  
pvisions ther then I am here to bestoe them/ of all other thinges  
I like best yo<sup>r</sup> Skaffolding rouniges /nales & bordes/ & lokkes &c  
well/ but oute off Dover I crye/ when I take this pap in my hand I  
po<sup>r</sup>posed to have writ unto yo<sup>r</sup> wyffe/ as I doe/ & contynued/ as  
yō see my tale w<sup>t</sup> you/ send plasterers the second week after easter  
& english sprig verrey necessary for them & you/ I wold have  
cōmyd but I am not able so god helpe me/ for labo<sup>r</sup> & lak of slepe | I  
woll when I may herafter/ you cōtented/ desir Wries Wriotesley to  
receyve for me as she pmyssed score poundē of Rooke which he  
borrowyd at mycheldever | our lord kepe in favo<sup>r</sup> & helth/ Amen

J. C.

Write to Vincent two wordē of thankē for his diligence &  
paynes | we desir hym of cōtynnuance & to call upon his cōpany | the  
thankē shalbe his/ the neddor lodging in the qwere must be large  
& have therto halfe of the towre/ thone galery above shall go

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. *Letters and Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*, Vol. 131.

through | thother cut off at the ende of the northyle /yō can have many goodlye lodgyngē/ my phantazie was never to take downe part of the qwere/ the taking downe of that part & setting up of a new wall was no smale charge. The towre or steple myslikyth everyman yf any thing shalbe done thertoo/ yt must be afore the rering of the Northyle rowff which ys al of redy: or ells the taking downe any part therof myght doo much harme the body rowffe may stond for brekyn off the heyre of the see from yo<sup>r</sup> house/ as also for the greate charge it wold stond you in/ if it shuld be renewed Nevertheless whatsoever yō do therw<sup>t</sup>/ you cannot lak an armery in two pncipall places/ above the buttre & pantre to the Skrene of the hall/ or next to yo<sup>r</sup> old kechyn in the old dorto<sup>r</sup> goodly platte both: thes hallydaies comyng I well wryte althinge that I shall & may remēber hitherto unwritton

J. C.<sup>1</sup>

Where the Lady Chapel referred to was we do not know. Crayford now thinks the dorter subvault may be destroyed, since it will "make lyme," and in its place may be built a goodly and pleasant summer parlour, a fair lodging of several chambers, the body of the chapel, and a halpace leading to a vice or staircase towards the garden for convenience of access to the great chamber gallery or the dining parlour and closet.

The first postscript explains itself. The second points out that the nether lodging, or ground story, in the quire must be large and include half the tower space. Of the two galleries on the first floor one was to run through; the other was to extend as far as the "north-yle." Crayford again returns to his objection to the tower or steeple, which "myslikyth every man"; if it is to be taken down, he says, that ought to be done before the "north yle rowff" is set up, and it is all ready. He would retain the nave roof, not only on account of the cost of altering it, but by reason of its "brekyn off the heyre of the see from your house." If Wriothesley wants an armoury, it can be placed either above the buttry and pantry attached to the screens of the hall or next to the old kitchen in the old dorter.

Here this very interesting series of letters ends. Much as we may regret that no others are forthcoming to tell us more that we fain would know, we must rest

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. *Letters and Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*, Vol. 131.



content that we have learned what we have. The accompanying plan may make more clear what the letters refer to.

The cloister or court occupied the middle, and had buildings on all four sides of it. The church lay to the south, and consisted of a presbytery or quire of three bays, north and south transepts, each with an aisle of three chapels on the east, a tower over the crossing, and an aisleless nave of seven bays. The church seems to have been vaulted throughout. North of the transept was the vestry, and beyond it the chapter house, from which the dorter and its subvault extended northwards for nearly a hundred feet. On the north side of the cloister was the frater, upon a subvault containing the buttery and pantry, etc. and on the west side was the cellarer's range. The kitchen, if not semi-detached to the north, was probably in the angle formed by the frater and cellarer's building.

Wriothesley's works involved the pulling down of the south transept, and probably of the low aisle east of the north transept, and the walling up of the arches opening into them. The alterations effected in the quire, tower area, north transept, and body of the church, have already been described from the letters, but these do not refer to the great tower-gatehouse with its four-corner turrets, mentioned by Leland, which occupies the middle bay of the nave; it was no doubt a later work, after the destruction of the steeple that Crayford so much disliked.

The projecting bay at the west end of the vestry probably had an oriel over, to light the "hawte pace" or landing referred to in Crayford's letter of 17th April. It apparently gave access to a staircase to the rooms formed in the transept. The chapter-house became the chapel, and retained this name down to its demolition in the eighteenth century.

The frater resumed its original use as a hall, and the western range formed a servants' department. The gallery over the north alley of the cloister, if it were built, would form a convenient means of access from one part of the house to the other. The projecting turrets and bay windows on the south and east sides

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## FORGERIES OF ANTIQUITIES.

By JAMES HILTON, Esq., F.S.A.

At the monthly meeting of the Institute on December 5th, Mr. James Hilton, F.S.A. (Hon. Treasurer), exhibited some leaden and other metal forgeries, and made some remarks about them intended as a caution to collectors and students of archaeology when visiting the shops of dealers in such objects, and to account for the display of the like objects on the table. He said that a friend had recently purchased one such object somewhere in London (that now exhibited), and which was alleged by the vendor to be an early Christian relic, in size about 7 inches by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, formed of lead or pewter, as a diptych of the Vesica shape, i.e. an elongated oval, the two leaves being held together by a clumsy hinge attachment, one leaf representing a half figure wearing a sort of crown, his arms and lower limbs concealed by a floral design, and a rude representation of the dove on the summit, the other leaf showing a personage holding a sceptre or mace, an inscription in rude antique letters on the back, and a loop for suspension on the summit. It seemed to have been injured by some corrosive application and by burial in earth or mud. His friend said, "What do you think of that?" Mr. Hilton quickly formed an opinion and without reply produced another object, saying, "What do *you* think of that?" a circular thin flat object like a medal or medallion about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, with a design and inscription on both sides and a projecting loop for suspension, formed of brass or some easily fusible metal, and in a good state of preservation. His friend at once remarked that the letters were nearly alike in both objects. The inscriptions convey no meaning, they are but an array of letters ignorantly used, not even arranged into words, in fact, utter nonsense. Without hesitation Mr. Hilton pronounced both to be forgeries or absolutely spurious, saying also that the circumstance might be mentioned at

the next meeting of the Institute as a caution to unwary collectors and against fraudulent or perhaps ignorant dealers, seeing how easily his friend had been imposed upon.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Vice-President, now joined in the narrative by particular request, and spoke to the following effect. He pointed to the display on the table which, through the kindness of Mr. C. H. Read, he was able to exhibit on the present occasion; it comprised two dozen apparently genuine objects of antiquities, part of a large collection, medallions, small vases, and objects difficult to describe, all made of lead, pewter, or brass. The medallions often exhibit, in some variety, a figure wearing head-gear, like a diadem with five upright spikes and rude meaningless inscriptions; others show two men preparing to fight with weapons, also inscribed, some dated as early as 1002 in modern so-called Arabic figures, many differing in variety of detail, but similar in type, some perfect, others purposely injured, to give the appearance of genuine antiquity. Mr. Hope narrated the history of these objects as follows:

A new dock was formed about the years 1857 and 1858, by excavating at Shadwell on the shore of the river Thames, which dock now forms part of the "London Docks"; two men occupied as "shore-rakers" known to the labourers employed as "Billy" and "Charley," distributed among the latter the objects in question, the labourers selling them as genuine "finds" to the dealers in curiosities. In this way an active trade went on, and it is known that upwards of two thousand objects passed eventually into the possession of the dealers' customers. The deception was not altogether successful; the *Athenæum Journal* published some articles exposing it. A dealer, fancying that they applied to him, brought an action for libel against the *Athenæum*. It was tried at the Guildford assizes on 5th August, 1858, and is reported in the *Times* newspaper on the following day. The case was decided against the plaintiff, principally on the ground that he was not alluded to personally and by name. One good result came from the action—the evidence of the witnesses led to the exposure of all the circumstances and frauds, revealing much that would otherwise never

have been made public. Indeed, some of the witnesses, antiquaries of repute, gave their opinions in favour of the objects, that they were genuine "pilgrims' badges" of the alleged early dates.

None of the medallion-like forms were struck from coinage dies; on the contrary, all are without doubt cast in moulds of rude and ignorant make and of one and the same origin. The two "shore-rakers," Billy and Charley, were found at their place of work by a persevering investigator, who managed to gain admission while they were busily employed in making the moulds and castings, and he was able to possess himself of some of them and of the tools used in the fabrication. Thus was set at rest all doubt and mystery which for a time surrounded this remarkable series of frauds.

More extended particulars may be seen in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXI., for 1864, pp. 167, 168, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. I. of Second Series, pp. 360-364, and in the *Times* and the *Athenæum* as above stated.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Hope for his kind help and for his concurrence in the writer's motive in reviving an almost forgotten event.

It may not be considered out of place to repeat here an explanation of the word *Vesica* used in the commencement of this paper. It is from the pen of the late Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, a much esteemed member of the Institute, in his work, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* (eleventh edition, 1882, in three volumes), at p. 137 of Vol. I., where in a note concerning the *Vesica piscis*<sup>1</sup> he says, "It is the figure of a fish, whence the term originated, and was one of the most ancient of the Christian symbols, emblematically significant of the Greek word *ἰχθῦς*, which contained the initial letters of the names and titles of our Saviour. The symbolic representation of a fish we find sculptured on some of the sarcophagi of the early Christians discovered in the catacombs of Rome, but the actual figure of a fish afterwards gave place to an oval-shaped compartment, pointed at both extremities, bearing the same

<sup>1</sup> Literally the swim-bladder of a fish, hence, for simplicity, the fish itself.

mystical signification as the fish itself, and formed by two circles intersecting each other in the centre. This was a most common symbol used in the Middle Ages, and, thus delineated, it abounds in Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts. Everywhere we meet with it during the Middle Ages, in religious sculptures, in painted glass, on encaustic tiles, and on seals, and the form is yet retained on the seals of many of the ecclesiastical courts."

Elsewhere will be found the Greek words, the initial letters of which are only referred to in the foregoing extract,

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ.

*Anglicè*, Jesus Christ the Son of God the Saviour.

This acrostic is very ancient and was known long before the invention of printing, when accents as we now know them were introduced in great variety. Therefore it is here printed bare of accents.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

### ANNUAL MEETING AT WORCESTER, 1906.

#### PROCEEDINGS.

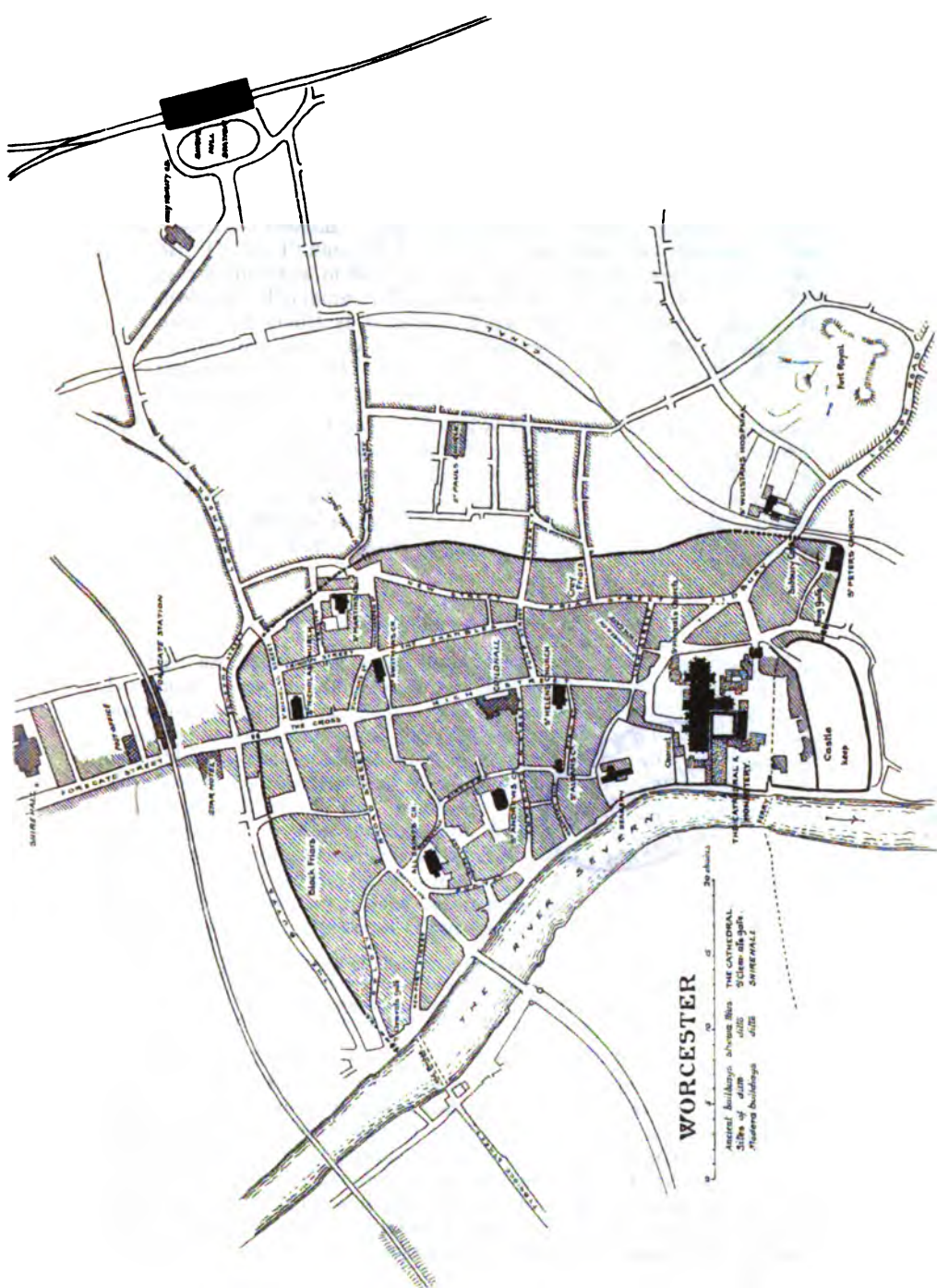
The Excursions were under the conduct of Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR.

July 24th.—Inaugural meeting at the Guildhall. Reception by the Mayor of Worcester. Westwood House, an Elizabethan Mansion, but not completed till after the Civil War. Described by Mr. J. A. GOTCH, F.S.A. *Conversazione* at the Guildhall by invitation of the MAYOR.

July 25th.—Dudley Castle. Described by Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A. Halesowen. The Abbey of White Canons, founded 1214. Described by Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE. The Parish Church, mostly of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Described by the Rector, the Rev. J. Hill, M.A. Evening meeting at the Star Hotel. The Rev. Canon PORTER, M.A., F.S.A., on "The Mediaeval Tiles of Worcestershire."

July 26th.—Buckland Church and Rectory. Described by the Rector, the Rev. E. T. HULL. Broadway Old Church, twelfth century. Chipping Campden, by way of Willersey and Weston-sub-Edge. The church, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Described by the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A., F.S.A. Campden Old House, built c. 1610; but mostly destroyed 1645; three quaint garden houses and the entrance gateway. Evening meeting at the Star Hotel. Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on "The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church of Worcester," illustrated by lantern slides.

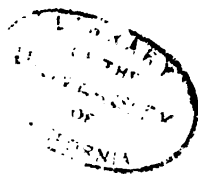
July 27th.—St. Wulstan's Hospital ("the Commandary"), a fifteenth century timber-built house. Described by Mr. LITTLEBURY. The Cathedral Church, begun 1084, the transepts and crypt of this date remain; the Lady Chapel, minor transepts and quire date from c. 1230; the nave, north side, 1320, and south side, 1360; the two western bays are after the fall of the west tower in 1175. Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., acted as guide. The Priory Buildings, the guest-house, cloister, chapter-house, frater and site of dormitory. Mr. HOPE again acted as guide. The Deanery, formerly the Bishop's Palace, containing work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, shown by the Very Rev. the DEAN. Evening meeting at the Star Hotel. Mr. J. W. WILLIS-BUND, M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., on "The Evolution of Worcester."



# WORCESTER

Ancient buildings  
Ancient Bells  
The Cathedral  
Old Clear all-gate  
Modern buildings





July 28th.—Ledbury. The Parish Church, dating from the twelfth century, with detached tower. The Rev. Preb. MADDISON GREEN, M.A., described the building. The Hospital of St. Katharine, founded 1232. Little Malvern Priory Church. Presbytery and central tower, mostly of the fifteenth century, and some of the monastic buildings remain. Great Malvern Priory Church, mostly of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The Vicar, the Rev. Canon PELLY, M.A., described the building.

July 30th.—Evesham. The Benedictine Abbey, begun c. 1077. Mr. C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A., described the remains. The parish churches of St. Lawrence and All Saints, within the Abbey precinct. Pershore. The Abbey Church, begun c. 1100. The nave and claustral buildings have been destroyed. Mr. C. R. PEERS described the building. Conversazioni at the Shirehall by invitation of J. W. WILLIS-BUND, Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Chairman of the Worcestershire County Council.

July 31st.—Sudeley Castle, a fortified house built on site of an earlier castle by Lord Sudeley, *temp.* Henry VI., ruins of the great hall and other fragments remain, enlarged *temp.* Edward VI. The Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, founded 1245. Described by Mr. HAROLD BRAKESPEAR, F.S.A. Stanway Manor House, a small Elizabethan house with forecourt and gatehouse. The parish church.

#### THE ANNUAL MEETING.

After an absence of over forty years the Royal Archaeological Institute again made choice of Worcester as the centre for its sixty-fourth annual meeting. The proceedings opened at noon on Tuesday, July 24th, when the members and their friends, having assembled in the Guildhall, were cordially welcomed, in the name of the citizens, by the Mayor of Worcester (Mr. W. J. LEICESTER).

The President of the meeting (the Earl of Coventry) was, unfortunately, unable through eye trouble to be present, but the President of the Institute (Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH) responded to the kind welcome of the Mayor in a few well-chosen words. The Institute, he said, had come to a most interesting part of England. In the thirteenth century, Robert of Gloucester said :

“To the County of Canterbury most fish,  
And most chase of wild beasts about Salisbury I wiss,  
At London ships most, and wine at Winchester,  
At Hereford sheep and oxen, and fruit at Worcester.”

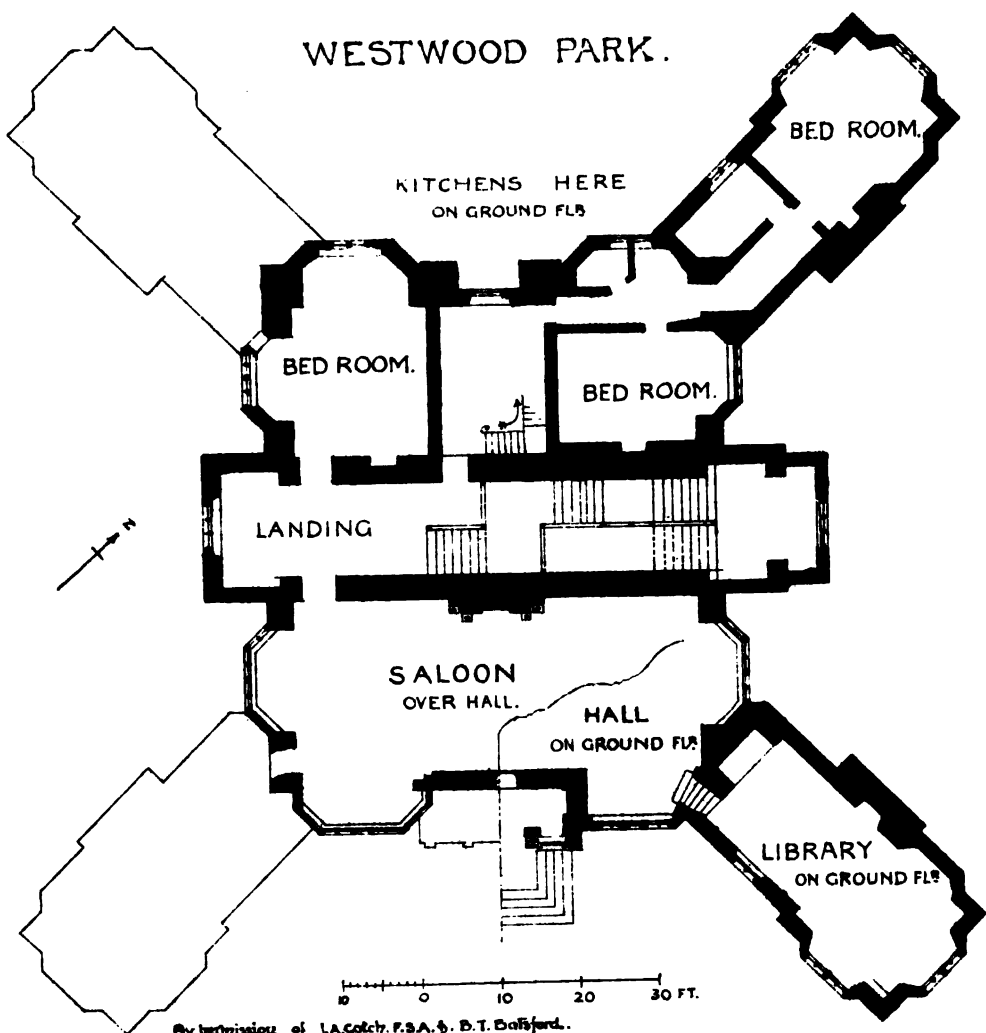
William of Malmesbury said of Worcestershire, “A land rich in corn, producing fruit in some parts by the sole favour of nature, in others by the art of cultivation, enticing even the lazy to industry by the prospect of a hundred-fold return. You may see the highway clothed with trees that produce apples, not by the grafter’s hand, but by the nature of the ground itself, for the earth of its own account rears them up to fruit, and that excellent in flavour and appearance, many of which within not under a year, nor before the next crop is produced and ripened.” It was very odd that the county should have

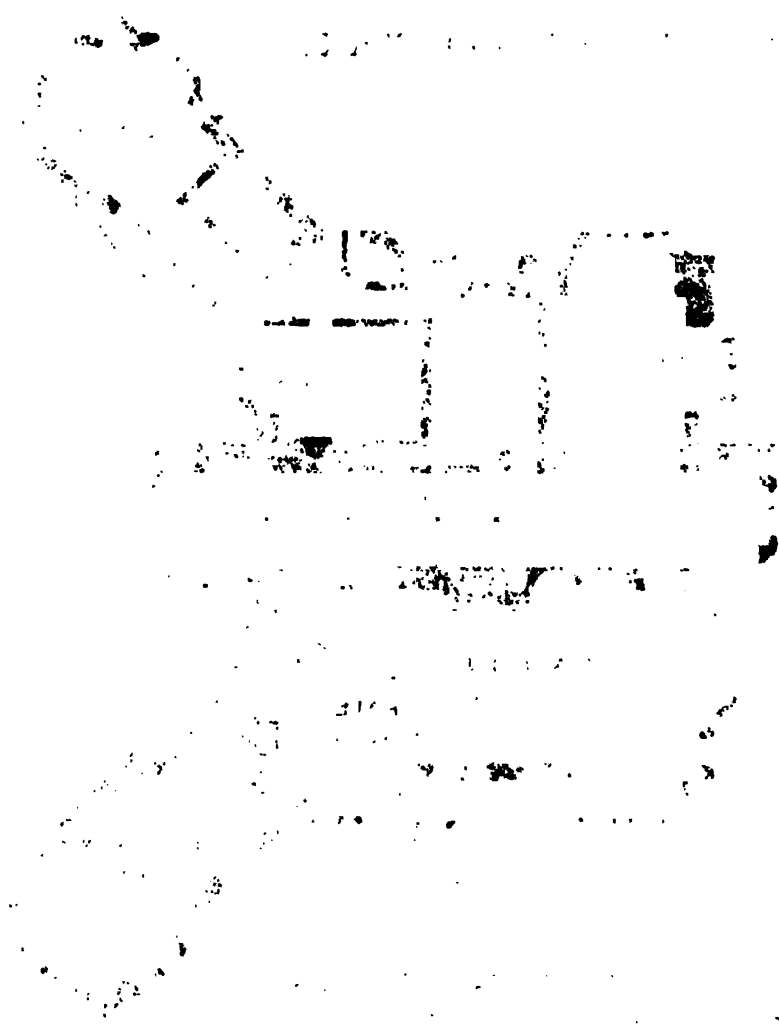
remained a garden for six centuries. And a garden and rural part of England it must have been from very early times. It was singular that although the tragedy of the great British chief Caractacus took place around the Malvern Hills, the Romans did not seem to have had many settlements here. They had only one Roman road leading through the county. Ellis, in his "Distribution of the English dialects," showed that the population of Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and North Gloucestershire did not originally belong to the great middle English. The population of the Anglo-Saxons made its way up the Severn and came from Wessex, and the folk were really a colony of the western part of Wessex. The race was essentially like that of Wessex, extremely English. They would remember that William the Conqueror, when he deposed the Bishops of Sees in England, retained the Anglo-Saxon sees of Worcester, and it was the only one where Anglo-Saxon literature continued to thrive and grow. It was in this county that we got the first traces of the change from Anglo-Saxon primitive to English. The speaker dwelt on other points in the county's history, saying that the Norman Kings found it pleasanter to spend their Christmas at Worcester than in other parts of England. He congratulated Mr. Brakspear, hon. secretary for the meeting, and the local committee, on the variety of the programme arranged, and said they were honoured by the presence of the President of the great French Archaeological Institute and other distinguished archaeologists, to whom he extended a cordial welcome.

After an adjournment for luncheon, brakes were in readiness to convey the party, about eighty in number, to Westwood House near Droitwich. Mr. J. A. GOTCH, who had kindly undertaken to describe the building, was unable to attend, but his account of the house was read on his behalf by Mr. HOPE. After calling attention to its unusual plan, consisting as it does of a central block with four limbs placed diagonally, Mr. Gotch pointed out that at first sight a student acquainted with the eccentricities of Elizabethan house-designers might suppose that here was an actual example in brick of those quaint designs which John Thorpe was so fond of drawing upon paper. But only the central portion of Westwood House dates from the time of Elizabeth, the four limbs having been added about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The original house was built by Sir John Pakington, "the lusty," in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, as a banqueting house, on a site evidently chosen for the fine prospect, his own family seat being at Hampton Lovet, a few miles away. During the Civil War this old house was destroyed, and the Pakington of the time, instead of rebuilding it, enlarged his secondary residence at Westwood by the addition of the four wings: its curious plan is the result. -

The original building was of three stories, rectangular with projecting bays, having a large hall on the ground floor, and a saloon of the same size above, and no other rooms of importance, the staircase being in the middle of the house, and dividing the front rooms from those at the back. The additions made after the Civil Wars consist of four wings set diagonally at the angles of the original house, the details of which are copied. The whole building is of red brick with sandstone dressings, the most striking feature being the heraldic





treatment of the parapet, in which the garbs and mullets of the Pakingtons replace the most usual balusters. The entrance-porch is of striking design, and rather larger and more important than porches usually were. The remains of the plan of the garden are interesting, but the house has suffered much by the loss of its original laying-out, the walls that once divided up the gardens having disappeared; but the fine gatehouse remains. This opened into a large hexagonal enclosure, with the house in the middle, the stables at the opposite extremity to the gatehouse, and at the four other angles small towers, still existing, from each of which a wall extended up to the house.

Within the house little original work remains; continual occupation has naturally led to periodical renovation, and nearly all the old features have gone. The old staircase is not of a very satisfactory type, being rather long drawn out. The saloon has a fine chimney-piece and elaborate frieze, with a richly-decorated plaster cornice and ceiling of somewhat later date than the wings, but beyond these there is little of architectural or archaeological interest. Some good tapestries adorn the walls. By the kind courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Ward every opportunity was afforded of examining the house and gardens, the view from the latter over the surrounding country being particularly fine, for Westwood House, unlike so many old mansions, is not built in a secluded valley, but set upon a hill. The great charm, indeed, of the building is its picturesque and stately appearance from without.

The party subsequently drove back to Worcester.

In the evening the members attended a *conversazione* by invitation of the Mayor of Worcester at the ancient Guildhall, where a fine display of the city charters, the civic insignia, and water-colour drawings of old Worcester was set out.

The MAYOR welcomed the Institute in a short speech, after which some of the more important documents, as well as the State sword *temp.* William III., and the rest of the insignia, were described by Mr. Hope.

Mr. HOPE said the charters in the possession of the Corporation were an extremely fine set. Worcestershire was most fortunate in possessing one of Richard I. and two of Henry III., both of which were very beautiful specimens of the time. Permission was granted to the Mayor and citizens to have the maces borne in the Cathedral church. This concession was granted by the Prior in return for being allowed to share at the Priory the new city water supply. At the present time the sole right by which the Mayor had the maces carried before him into the Cathedral rested upon that charter. The city had a greater privilege conferred by a charter of James I., being empowered to appoint a sword bearer. When the King came to Worcester, the Mayor carried the sword, and four Aldermen the maces, and when another member of the Royal Family came, the sword bearer carried it, the Mayor one mace, and three Aldermen the others. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE then referred to the three black pears on the coat of arms, and observed that there was no grant to confirm the tradition that they had any connection with the visit of Queen Elizabeth to the city; he added that these pears were also claimed by the county.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH then thanked the Mayor for his kind hospitality, and the proceedings then terminated.

On Wednesday, July 25th, an excursion was made to Dudley and Halesowen. At Dudley Castle the members were courteously received by Mr. TAYLOR, Lord Dudley's agent, and Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE described the remains of the castle. It was, he said, one of the fifty or sixty castles mentioned in the Domesday Survey, where Dudley is described as part of the estate of William FitzAnsculf, "*et ibi est castellum ejus.*" This castle consisted of a lofty mount, crowned with a wooden tower, with appendent bailey or baileys, protected by palisaded defences. Portions of an early Norman hall and other structures remain incorporated with the buildings within the bailey, but the earliest of the masonry defences are of late thirteenth-century work, and include the very fine gatehouse through which the castle is entered. The chapel, which stands above part of an extensive range of vaulted cellars, is of the same date. The great tower on the mount was partly "slighted" during the Civil War, but was an oblong structure with round towers at the corners, all of excellent work, apparently *temp.* Edward II. The rest of the buildings, the hall and its surroundings, with the kitchen and private lodgings, were entirely rebuilt about 1550, and replaced by a fine range of Renaissance character, the work of John Dudley, Earl of Northumberland.

The date is fixed by an extant letter of Sir W. Sharington, dated 1553, and mentioning that Chapman (one of the masons working for him at Lacock) had gone to Dudley to set up a chimneypiece there. No trace of the chimneypiece is now to be identified, but certain details, as the brackets in the heads of the windows, show a decided connection with the work at Lacock.

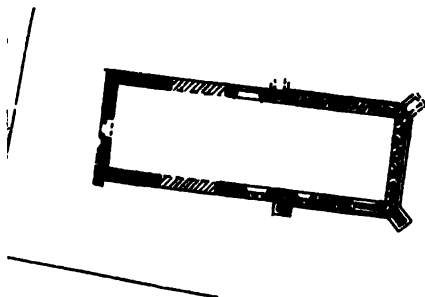
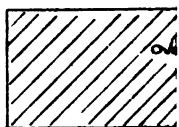
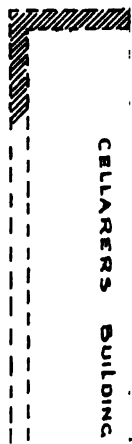
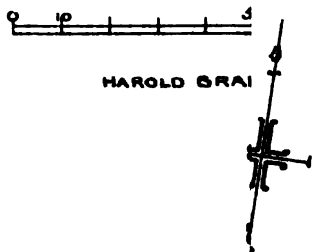
The Renaissance work was unhappily destroyed by fire in 1750, and there now remains only the greatly-dilapidated shell of the great hall, the kitchen, and the State apartments. The handsome portico and terrace, which formed the chief entrance, have almost entirely disappeared.

After luncheon Halesowen was visited, and here, with the help of a plan prepared by Mr. BRAKSPEAR, Mr. HOPE described the scanty remains of the abbey of Premonstratensian or White Canons, founded in 1214 by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. Of the church, parts of the north side of the presbytery, of the south and west walls of the south transept, and of the south wall of the nave remain; and of the claustral buildings, part of the south and west walls of the frater. The whole church was vaulted, the detail being very good, and, to judge from the remains, it seems that all the buildings were set out and finished in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The site of the cloisters is now occupied by farm buildings. The monastic buildings have disappeared, but part of the south wall of the frater remains with traces of its vaulted undercroft and several of its upper windows.

The infirmary probably stood to the east of the dorter range, on a site where tile pavements are known to exist, and to the east of this still stands a rectangular building of uncertain use, which is the best preserved piece of mediaeval work on the site, although now degraded to a cart shed. It is a two-story *camera* or lodging of late thirteenth-

# HALESOWE







century date, its upper story having two-light windows with transoms, and its original roof of trussed rafters, with cambered tiebeams and moulded kingposts, is still in a fair state of repair. Several interesting pieces of carving are built into the walls of the *camera* noted above, especially a very small figure of a knight (doubtless marking, in its former position, a heart-burial) and a fine thirteenth-century coffin slab, with a Crucifixion at the head, and below it a figure kneeling under a trefoiled canopy. A small plate, probably of metal, had been fastened to the stone in front of the face of the kneeling figure.

The whole site is surrounded by a moat, and the entrance was from the south-west, the position of the gatehouse being still discernible.

A move was next made by means of carriages to Halesowen village, where the interesting parish church was described by the Rector (the Rev. J. HILL). It was originally a large Norman church, with aisles to the nave and a tower over the crossing, but, owing to the fall of the tower in the fifteenth century, the cruciform plan has been obliterated and a new tower with spire erected about the middle of the length of the nave, with two bays of the older building west of it. The aisles have also been widened. The chancel once had a barrel vault. The most remarkable object in the church is the font, which has a bowl of the eleventh century, with interesting strap work of Scandinavian character on the sides and curious figures on the angles.

At the evening meeting Canon PORTER read a paper on "The Mediaeval Tiles of Worcestershire," in the course of which he said that the majority of fifteenth and sixteenth century tiles, in the county, came from Droitwich and Malvern; but as in the case of the tiles at Hailes Abbey there must have been a good number of smaller factories. After the process of manufacture had been described, a number of examples of tile patterns were shown and explained.

On Thursday, the 26th, a special rail-motor conveyed the party, to the number of about a hundred, to Broadway, whence the journey was continued in carriages to Buckland. Here the old church was first inspected and described by the Rector (the Rev. E. T. HULL). The building is a typical example of a small Worcestershire country church. The church has developed from an aisleless nave and chancel of the twelfth century, the four angles of the nave of this date being preserved.

Aisles were added in the thirteenth century, and a west tower in the fifteenth; while the chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century and its east end renewed in 1585, a stone bearing this date being set over the square-headed east window. There is a good deal of excellent wood-work of the fifteenth century and later. On the wall by the font is fixed some panelling with the quaint inscription, "THOMS: IZARD AND IAMES SOVTHORN OF THAYR OWN CHARG HAVE GEVEN THIS WAINSCOT AND BENCHIN TO CHVRCH IN THE YERE OF OVR LORD 1615." The church also possesses a little old glass of great interest. In the east window of the chancel are three panels of late fifteenth-century date, forming part of a series representing the seven Sacraments, the subjects of two being Confirmation and Matrimony, while the third is a patchwork made up from two panels, Extreme Unction and Holy Orders. The north aisle is paved with the mediaeval tiles common in the district.

The old rectory-house, which was next examined, is a singularly perfect instance of a small fifteenth-century house with almost an untouched hall of c. 1450, complete to its fine open-timbered roof, and even to its shuttered windows, one of which still retains its original quarry-glazing with figures of birds. In one light is the name William Grafton, of the rector who built the house, together with his rebus, a *graft* issuing from a *tun*. At one end of the hall is the solar block and at the other the usual kitchen, etc., approached by doorways from the screens.

The parish possesses part of a fifteenth-century cope with embroidered orphreys, and a curious standing wooden cup resembling a mazer and made in 1609, with a silver-mounted lip of that date. Within the bowl is a fifteenth-century "print" of St. Margaret, taken from a mediaeval mazer, while the silver mount of the foot may also be mediaeval.

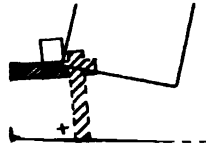
Broadway old church was next visited and described by Mr. C. R. PEERS. It is an example of a reversal of the normal course of development, a fifteenth-century central tower and transepts having been added to the late twelfth-century nave, destroying the eastern bay of the nave arcades. There is nothing to suggest that the church had a masonry tower before this date, but the fall of the ground makes the ground unsuitable for a western tower, and probably for this reason, the expedient of a central tower was adopted, the transepts, which are small, being added mainly to give abutment. The pulpit is a carved and painted one of the fifteenth century, and over the tower-arch is a rare example of the Royal arms of King Charles I., with the date 1642.

Passing on to the village of Broadway, the party examined the charming fourteenth-century manor-house of the abbots of Pershore. The house is situated at the western end of Broadway village and is now used as an artist's studio. Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR gave a short account of the building which includes the hall, with the chapel, solar, and bedroom above a series of cellars at one end. The kitchen block is unfortunately destroyed, but the usual doors into it remain at the lower end of the hall.

After luncheon the party drove by way of the picturesque villages of Willersey and Weston-sub-Edge to Chipping Campden, where the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET described the parish church, built in the prosperous days of the wool trade, and containing the fine brass of William Greville, 1401, "the flower of the wool merchants of all England," and the later but more imposing monuments of the Hicks' family, Viscounts Campden. Externally the fine tower and general outline give promise of better things, but internally the architectural effect is distinctly poor, and recent scraping and plaster stripping have made matters worse. The fluted pillars of the nave are of an uncommon type, and seem, like the rest of the church, which is practically all of one date, to belong to the closing years of King Henry VIII. With the exception of the well-known brasses and a good eagle-lectern of brass given in 1610, but quite a century older, the church contains nothing of interest save several late and ugly monuments in the south chapel.

On leaving the church the members were received by Lord and Lady Gainsborough and visited several of the interesting stone-built houses





th which Chipping Campden abounds, notably Greville House with unusually elaborate two-story bay-windows and a good hooded fire-ace built by Baptist Hicks about 1610, but burnt by its owner in 1745 to prevent its being taken by the Parliamentary forces. Only a segment of the front of the house is left, but at each end of the terrace on which it stood is a quaint garden-house, and there are some other interesting remains attached to the site of the blocked entrance gateway and some out-buildings adjoining it on the south, which serve to show the somewhat fantastic design of the house.

The party subsequently returned by special rail-motor to Worcester.

At the evening meeting held at the Shire Hall, Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, with the aid of large coloured ground plans and a number of excellent lantern slides traced the architectural history of the cathedral church of Worcester in preparation of the visit to be paid to it on the following day. His remarks were based upon the well-known essay of Professor Willis in the *Archaeological Journal*.

He traced the development of the present building from Wulstan's church, begun in 1084, showing how the eastward extension in the thirteenth century was designed to give a place for St. Wulstan's shrine and how Wulstan's presbytery was gradually rebuilt, the remodelling of the nave taking place in the fourteenth century, and finishing with the building of the central tower in 1374.

He suggested, with regard to Wulstan's church, that the excrescent apsidal chapels at the east end were polygonal, and not rounded, and that the *nova turris* which fell in 1175 was not that over the crossing, but more probably a single western one recklessly built above the two last bays of the nave towards the close of the repairs that followed the fire of 1113. Only upon such supposition, which had also been independently arrived at by Mr. Harold Brakspear, could the work now forming the last two bays of the nave be satisfactorily and historically accounted for. The "new work of the front" recorded to have been begun in 1224, Mr. Hope thought had originated in the desire to build a chapel for the shrine of St. Wulstan, in emulation of similar extensions at Canterbury, Rochester, and elsewhere. He also showed from grants to the bishop entered on the Close Roll of oak trees for "cheverons" and making other timber, that the "new work of the church" was being roofed in in 1232. Very little structural alteration was made in the fifteenth century, but the beautiful chantry chapel in which Prince Arthur was buried in 1502 was erected. The pillars on the north side of the nave were simply a glorified version of Wulstan's. The copying of earlier work was unusual, but the effect was very fine. Referring to the removal of tombs, he said these had been shuffled about in the Cathedral like packs of cards. Lantern illustrations were shown of some of the quaint carvings in the spandrels of the arcades and of the interesting series of bosses in the vaulting of the north and south alleys of the cloister. The latter form a curious double Jesse Tree.

At the close a hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Hope.

Friday, the 27th, was devoted to the city of Worcester, and the proceedings began with a visit to the well-known Commandery, the ancient hospital of St. Wulstan, which was inspected under the guidance of Mr. LITTLEBURY. The chief feature of the building, which is a fifteenth-century timber-built house, is the fine timber hall,

still in good repair, with a fine open roof which retains, besides its carved woodwork, no small amount of its original quarry glazing, with quaint figures of birds. A visit was next paid to the Cathedral church, where Mr. HOPE pointed out the various changes described by him on the preceding evening. After luncheon the monastic buildings were inspected, Mr. Hope having first explained in the chapter-house the general disposition of them, as illustrated by the Parliamentary Survey of 1649, at which date all were still standing. From the minute descriptions of the various prebendal houses given in the survey, it was possible to lay down the exact limits and relative positions of the important western block, which contained the monks' dorter and the infirmary, with the vice-dorter between. The inspection of the buildings concluded with a visit to the ancient bishop's palace, now the deanery, where the members were hospitably entertained by the Dean of Worcester and Mrs. Forrest. Though outwardly of no great interest, marked as it is by an eighteenth-century front, the building is one deserving of careful examination, and contains an elaborate series of vaulted undercrofts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries below the great hall, chapel, etc., which indicate the original disposition of the chambers over them.

At the evening meeting Mr. J. W. WILLIS-BUND read a paper, illustrated by plans and lantern slides, on "The Evolution of Worcester from the earliest times down to its condition as a walled town in the Norman period." He traced the first settlement to the existence of a ford over the Severn, probably guarded by a fort on the site afterwards occupied by the castle. To the north of this grew up the early monastic settlement, on the site of the present Cathedral; and the town spread northward from this point, being in later days enclosed by a wall. He also called attention to the danger threatening the few remaining old timber houses in the city, owing to their insanitary condition, which empowered the Corporation, under certain circumstances, to compel first their closing and then their demolition. Mr. Bund said he rather dreaded the visit to Worcester of the Royal Archaeological Institute, as the occasion of their first visit was celebrated by the Dean and Chapter by the destruction of the old Guesten Hall at the Cathedral. Upon that occasion he heard Mr. Freeman hold forth upon the virtues of Simon de Montfort, and the wickedness of the Dean and Chapter in pulling down the hall which Wulstan had built for the entertainment of visitors to the monastery. Why they pulled it down he did not know: the popular belief was that the Canon who then occupied one of the houses said that the building had a bad effect upon the light to his windows, and that it spoilt the view. The hall could easily have been repaired. The roof, as sound as ever, was now on Holy Trinity Church. Now the Archaeological Institute had come again, and the city was very glad to welcome them and celebrate their coming, but the Corporation, he was sorry to say, seemed to have made up their minds to celebrate that visit by pulling down a number of black and white timbered buildings in Worcester. No doubt they were insanitary, but he did not see why, because they were not built up to the modern requirements of sanitation, they should be pulled down. They were an example of the conditions under which Englishmen of old used to live such strong and courageous

lives and do good work. He very much regretted that the Corporation should have thought it necessary to get rid of some of the great attractions of Worcester.

A discussion ensued upon the subject of the demolition of these old houses.

Mr. NORMAN observed that one of the most interesting things about that delightful week was the opportunity afforded them of visiting beautiful old houses in the district. Though not part of the regular programme, it had been a great pleasure to him to wander about the city of Worcester and see the beautiful half-timbered houses. They hoped their visit would be followed by the preservation of these old buildings. The speaker referred to two groups of half-timbered houses in Lich Street, which were exceedingly interesting, and it would be well if the authorities could be persuaded that from the purely utilitarian point of view, it would be a very great advantage to the city if they were preserved. Future ages would be grateful, and visitors would be attracted, to the benefit of the city.

The Rev. Prebendary AUDEN emphasised Mr. Norman's remark, and suggested that the members of that Institute should pass a resolution calling the attention of the authorities to the great value of those houses in the interests of the city. The charm of old places like Worcester was that they were old places, and such cities would be visited in proportion as such relics of the past were preserved. He felt sure the Corporation would receive the resolution in the spirit in which it was meant.

Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE said he had been in communication with the Town Clerk, whose tone in the matter was unsympathetic, and there seemed no likelihood of anything being done. If the Town Clerk were living in an unsanitary house he would have it made sanitary, and he (Mr. Hope) did not see why that could not be done with those houses. It had been mentioned that they might remain empty—if that was so they might as well be destroyed. He suggested that the houses should be made sanitary and continue to be inhabited.

The President (Sir HENRY HOWORTH) said he had often opposed the Institute interfering with municipalities, as he appreciated the difficulties in the way of preserving old places when they were in an awkward position in a main street. The Juggernaut of continual progress must go on. But in this case he thought it would be a very good thing if the Corporation, before deciding finally upon the matter, would take counsel with some experienced and moderate architect who sympathised with these things and had sufficient knowledge to make his advice of some value. Then they could learn if it would be possible to preserve these buildings without damage to anybody. This had been done successfully in the Isle of Man, at Peterborough, and other places. He suggested that they should move a moderate resolution respectfully urging their views upon the Corporation. He asked Mr. Etherington Smith, a King's Counsel and Recorder, to express his view.

Mr. ETHERINGTON SMITH agreed that nothing was more dangerous than to interfere with persons who had responsibilities simply from the aesthetic point of view. Perhaps Worcester might think it possible to spare some of those old houses. He did not see that there was any



insuperable difficulty in applying the principles of modern sanitation to the old houses, and, while altering the interiors, preserving the shells.

The further consideration of the matter was adjourned until the annual meeting on Monday.

The programme for Saturday, July 28th, included visits to Ledbury and Great and Little Malvern. On reaching Ledbury the members went first to the parish church, where Prebendary MADDISON GREEN gave an account of the building and its history, his remarks being supplemented by Mr. HOPE. The plan of the first church of which anything now stands seems to have been cruciform, and it may have belonged to the second quarter of the twelfth century, but owing apparently to the fall of the tower, a general rebuilding was begun about 1150, extending eastwards and westwards to its present length. The existing large chancel is substantially of that date, and had chapels on the north and the south, to which it opened by arcades of two bays with short pillars set on high rectangular plinths, the spaces between the plinths being originally blocked by thin stone walls. The nave was of six bays with north and south aisles, but of its arcades the responds alone are left, the present arcades being poor work of late date. The twelfth century aisles and chapels have given place to thirteenth and fourteenth century successors, and at the north of the north chapel is the fine chapel of St. Katharine, its large tracery windows thickly set with ballflowers, like those in the south aisle of Gloucester Cathedral. The north porch, contemporary with the north aisle, has a vestry to the east, and living rooms over it with a fireplace, seats in the windows, and a water drain with a channel through the west wall. The tower, one of six in the county, stands detached from the church on the north, its massive lower stages being of thirteenth-century date, while its top stage and stone spire were added in the eighteenth century.

The Hospital of St. Katharine, founded in 1232 by Bishop Hugh Foliot, for a master and divers poor brethren and sisters, but refounded by Queen Elizabeth in 1580, next claimed attention. It is of normal type, with a chapel and hall under one roof, but the chapel is of the same width of the hall, and not, as usually happens, of smaller span. Parts of the walls seem to belong to the original work, but the roof and most of the windows, etc., are of the fourteenth century, the east wall of the chapel being entirely of this date, and perhaps further west than the original wall. The hospital is still in use, but the hall is no longer the dwelling-place of the inmates. It has been subdivided, and much altered, but the chapel retains a fine open roof of the fourteenth century, when some of the windows were enlarged, and its ancient fittings consist only of a good set of floor tiles and a little old glass.

After luncheon a drive was taken over the hills to Little Malvern, where the remains of the Benedictine priory, founded in 1171, were described by Mr. PEERS. Of the original church, which was cruciform with a north aisle to the nave, nothing remains except the eastern respond of the north arcade, and part of the west wall of the north transept. The crossing and eastern parts of the church seem to have been rebuilt about 1360, with chapels to the east of the transepts; but transepts and chapels are alike in ruin, and the nave of the church has entirely perished. Bishop Alcock rebuilt the east end of the presbytery

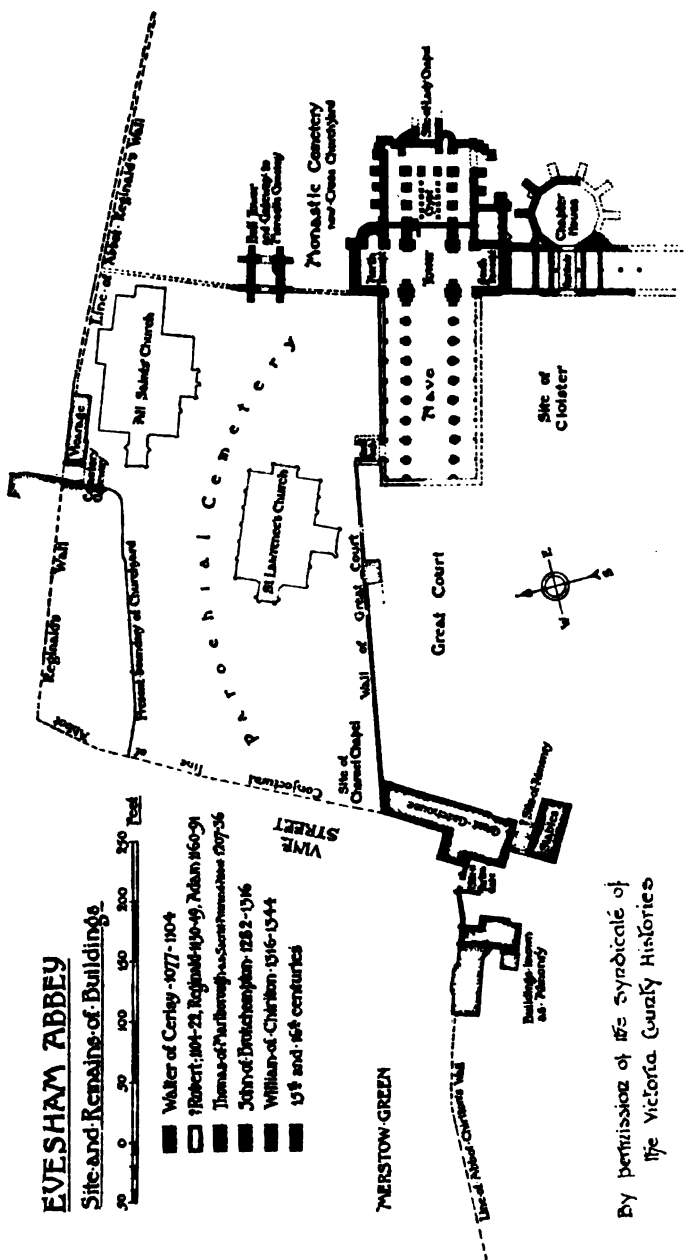


# EVESHAM ABBEY

## Site and Remains of Buildings



- Walter of Cerley - 1077-1104
- Robert, 1194-21, Reginald 1190-98, Adam 1160-91
- Thomas of Marborough, 1252-1276
- John of Drogheda, 1282-1316
- William of Chirkton, 1316-1344
- 15th and 16th centuries



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and the upper part of the tower, and in the east window are his arms and the remains of an interesting set of portraits of Henry VII. and his family, the figures of Prince Arthur and his wife Katharine of Aragon being perfect, and by their joint presence fixing the date of the glass to 1501-2. Of the claustral buildings nothing is left beyond a part of the western range, now incorporated in modern buildings.

The drive was continued to Great Malvern, where the members were received by Canon Pelly; and after visiting the priory church and its treasures of glass and tiles, they left by train for Worcester.

On Monday, July 30th, Evesham and Pershore were visited. At the former place the Mayor welcomed the members, and the Corporation maces, plate, etc., were exhibited, a move being then made to the site of the Benedictine abbey, where Mr. PEERS pointed out the scanty remains of the monastic buildings. Turning to the church, Mr. Peers referred to the excavations carried out by Mr. Rudge early in the nineteenth century, which had brought to light the plan and crypt of this great building. Nothing is now to be seen but a small piece of the north transept and the base of one of the piers of the central tower, being part of the work of Walter de Cerisy, 1077-1104.

Of the abbey buildings, of which very little still survives, the well-known bell tower, which was also the gateway of the monks' cemetery, and the twelfth-century north gateway, by which the lay cemetery was entered, are the most important remains on this part of the site; but at the west the fourteenth-century gatehouse still exists under an eighteenth-century disguise, and near it the so-called Almonry, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and parts of other buildings. The position of the "Almonry" is difficult to reconcile with that of the almonry described in the grant of 1539, and a site further to the east would suit the conditions much better.

The two churches of St. Lawrence and All Saints, situated close together within the monastic precincts, have one curious feature in common—each has an elaborate vaulted chapel on the south side. St. Lawrence's Church, indeed, had another on the north, which has long since disappeared. The chapel in All Saints' was built by Clement Lichfield, when prior, *i.e.*, before 1513, as his tomb-chapel, but of the others no record remains.

Carriages being in readiness, the members of the Institute then drove to Pershore. After luncheon a visit was paid to this abbey church, which was described by Mr. C. R. PEERS. The building to which the present remains belong was begun about 1100, but only the south transept and crossing remain. The north transept and the nave, which must have resembled that of Tewkesbury, were destroyed at the suppression of the abbey, and the eastern limb rebuilt in the thirteenth century. This later work is not, however, all of one date. Mr. Peers traced out the growth of the existing building by the addition before 1220 of five rectangular chapels, including the destroyed Lady chapel at the east, of an early twelfth-century apse, and the rebuilding of the early presbytery after a fire in 1223, and of its vault, together with the upper part of the tower, after a second fire in 1288. For some reason, probably structural, the central tower (*c.* 1330), which bears some likeness to the contemporary work at Salisbury, had never been carried up to its intended height, and many

of the details were still left in block only. There are traces of a large early fourteenth-century chapel eastward of the south transept. Of the monastic buildings and nave of the church very little is left, the east cloister door being the principal feature, while the traces of the abutment of the eastern range of the claustral buildings on the south transept are for the most part hidden by rampant ivy.

Before leaving the church the President of the Institute called upon M. Eugene Lefevre-Pontalis, President of the Société Française d'Archéologie, who, with several of his countrymen, had honoured the meeting by their presence.

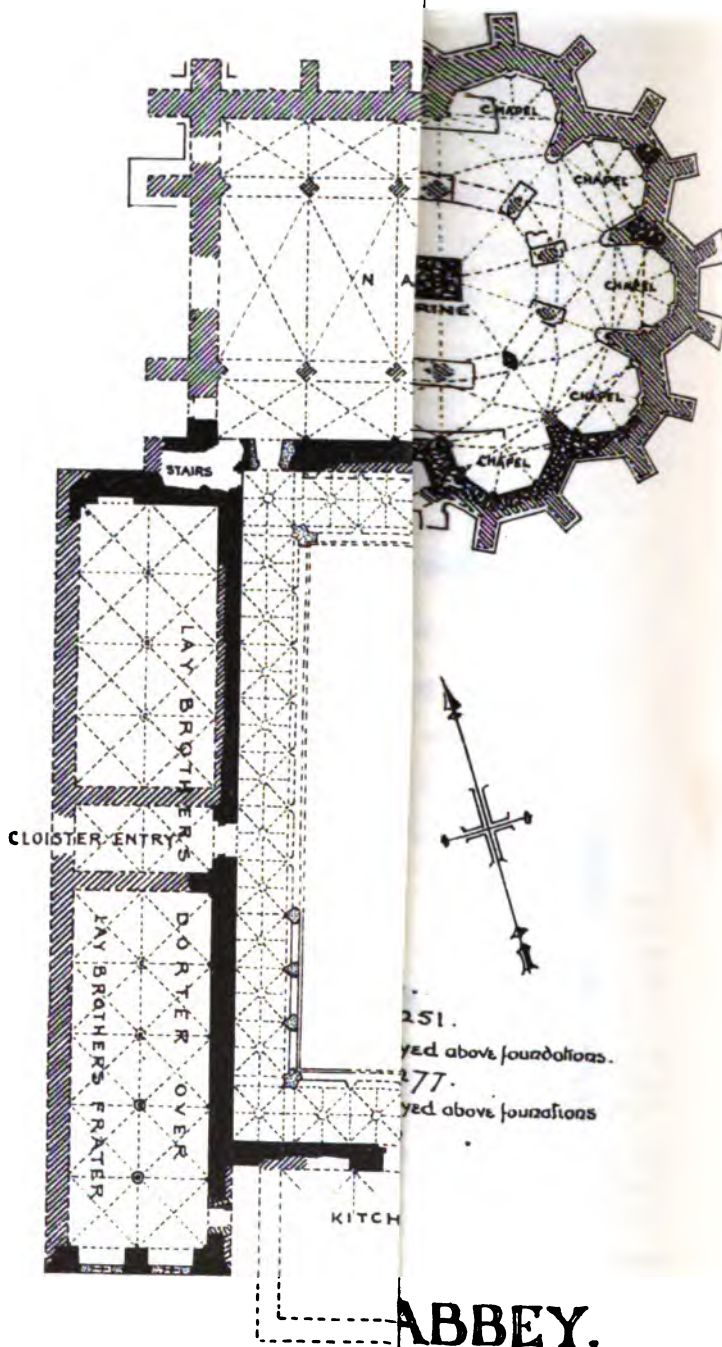
M. EUGENE LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, speaking in French, first thanked the President and members of the Institute for their cordial reception of himself and his *confrère*, M. Louis Serbat, the Secretary of his Society. He then commented in the most interesting manner on the similarity between the architecture of England and Normandy in the first half of the thirteenth century, the same preference for delicate and refined mouldings, the same complicated plans of pillars, the same clearstory passages, and the same forms in the windows, instancing the choir of St. Etienne of Caen, the cathedral churches of Lisieux and Coutances, etc. In speaking of the same preference for complicated mouldings, he noticed the early appearance of the fillet on shafts and rolls of arch mouldings, which has been attributed by certain French archaeologists to the fourteenth century. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the architecture of England began to separate itself from that of Normandy, especially in the vaults. English architecture continued its preference for complicated forms by the free introduction of tiercerons and liernes, and then by the introduction of curves of contraflexure in window tracery, which anticipated the introduction of the Flamboyant style of France. At the same time he confessed to a preference for the fourteenth-century Gothic of the Continent, as illustrated by the magnificent church of St. Ouen at Rouen. He considered the choir of Pershore to be of fine style, comprising delicacy of detail with impression of stability. He finished a very interesting address by inviting the members of the Institute to take part in the Congress of his Society at Avallon and Auxerre next year, and with the hope that English and French archaeologists would continue the *entente cordiale archéologique* by the comparative study of the architecture of the two countries. He also alluded to the *entente cordiale* of former times between his predecessors, M. de Caumont, M. Ferdinand de Lesteyrie, etc., and Sir Augustus W. Franks, Mr. J. H. Parker, and others.

The party were after received to tea by Mr. and Mrs. Pearce at Perrott House, a fine specimen of a town house of the Adam period (c. 1760), with excellent plasterwork decoration, and an early eighteenth-century wrought-iron screen at the lower end of the garden.

In the evening the annual business meeting was held, and the customary votes of thanks passed, after which Mr. Willis-Bund, Chairman of the County Council, entertained the members at the Shire Hall, a large company being invited to meet them.

He showed his guests an interesting series of lantern slides illustrative of the various types of churches, ancient houses, bridges, and other architectural antiquities characteristic of the county.





251.  
 yed above foundations.  
 277.  
 yed above foundations

ABBEY.

At the conclusion Sir HENRY HOWORTH said he could not remember the time when Mr. Bund was not concerned with the history of the county and its internal administration. They were all grateful to him for guarding with such vigilance the antiquarian beauties of the county. They had known him for many years as a member of the Society of Antiquaries. On behalf of the society he thanked Mr. Bund for his hospitality and also his interesting address.

Tuesday, July 31st, was the concluding day of the meeting. Leaving Worcester at 9.25, the party journeyed by special rail-motor to Toddington, and thence in carriages to Stanway, where, by permission of Lord Elcho, they visited the picturesque seventeenth-century Stanway Court, a good example of Elizabethan work, its forecourt and the well-known gatehouse, said to have been the work of Inigo Jones, though no direct evidence remains on the point. The church—a small twelfth-century building with rather unusual details—has a twelfth-century chancel and nave which was lengthened in the seventeenth century, its twelfth-century cornice being imitated in the later work. It seems that it was at first intended to vault the chancel, but the design was abandoned. Later windows have also been inserted and a tower added at the west end. North of the church is a fine stone barn of the fourteenth century with its original roof.

The ruins of Hayles Abbey—a Cistercian house which owned the famous relic of the Holy Blood, given to it in 1271 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall—were then described by Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE.

The journey was next continued to Hayles, where the party were received by Mr. Hugh Andrews, the owner of the site of the abbey; and the remains were explained with the aid of a plan by Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR. The abbey was one of Cistercian monks, founded in 1245 by Richard, King of the Romans, with a church of similar type to that of Abbey Dore. Between 1271 and 1277 the church was enlarged eastwards for the enshrining of the famous relic of the Holy Blood, by building out an apsidal chapel for the shrine, with an enriching ambulatory and external chevet of five polygonal chapels. Only a fragment of the south wall of the nave remains above ground, but the foundations were excavated a few years ago by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and the complete plan recovered. Some fragments are left of a late Tudor, rebuilding of the cloister alleys, but the rest of the buildings still await investigation with pick and spade. In an adjacent museum are preserved a large number of fragments of splendid tombs, architectural remains, and paving tiles found during the excavations. Some remarks on the Holy Blood of Hayles were contributed by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley and Mr. Micklethwaite. After an inspection of the parish church, an interesting building which contains a fine series of heraldic tiles, some fifteenth-century white and gold glass recently found among some lumber and some lately discovered and exceptionally well-preserved wall paintings of the thirteenth century and later, the journey was continued to Winchcombe. After luncheon a visit was paid to the parish church of Winchcombe, where the vicar, the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, displayed the interesting church plate and registers and some fragments and tiles from the destroyed Benedictine abbey. The last item on the programme was Sudeley Castle, a building chiefly of the fifteenth and



sixteenth centuries, where the members of the Institute were received by the present owner, Col. Dent Brocklehurst and his family. The first building on the site was apparently a Norman castle, but this was replaced by Lord Sudeley, *temp.* Henry VI., by a fortified house, of which there remain the ruins of the great hall and other fragments. The building was considerably enlarged, *temp.* Edward VI., by Admiral Lord Seymour, whose work forms the present castle. Every facility was afforded of inspecting the many art treasures contained in the house collected by the late Mrs. Dent, and, after being hospitably entertained at tea, the party returned by special rail-motor to Worcester.

The meeting which was thus concluded was a most successful one in every way, the number of members' tickets considerably exceeding 100, and the excellent arrangements planned by Mr. Harold Brakspear, the Secretary of the meeting, and Mr. William Pearce, the local secretary, worked without a single hitch from first to last. The weather, moreover, was all that could be desired; not a single excursion being marred by rain. It was decided that next year's meeting should be held at Colchester.

February 7th, 1906.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. ANDREW OLIVER exhibited a series of lantern illustrations of French Cathedrals and Churches, with descriptive remarks thereon.

After a discussion by the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. OLIVER.

March 7th, 1906.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. AMBROSE BOYSON read a paper on Low Set Openings in Danish and other Scandinavian Churches, with lantern illustrations. Mr. Boyson's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 5.

The PRESIDENT, Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE, Mr. DEWICK, Judge BAYLIS, Mr. RICE, and Mr. JOHNSTON took part in the discussion, a vote of thanks being accorded to the author of the paper.

April 4th, 1906.

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. MONTAGU SHARPE, D.L., Middlesex, read a paper on—

- (a) The Extensive Line of British Stakes protecting the Ford across the Thames at Brentford;
- (b) Did Caesar cross here? and
- (c) Were the Coway Stakes in existence B.C.?

with lantern illustrations. Mr. Sharpe's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 25.

The discussion was opened by Judge BAYLIS, and continued by Mr. REGINALD SMITH, Mr. HANSON, and Mr. RICE; the lecturer having replied, a vote of thanks was accorded to him for his paper.

May 2nd, 1906.

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

A paper by Dr. FRYER on Fonts was read by Mr. HENRY WILSON. Dr. Fryer's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 97.

The discussion was opened by Mr. RICE and continued by Mr. DRUCE, Mr. BOYSON, Judge BAYLIS, and the CHAIRMAN, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the author and reader of the paper.

A paper was read by Dr. TALFOURD ELY on Recent Excavations in Hayling Island, with lantern illustrations; also coins and other objects were exhibited. Dr. Ely's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 117.

After observations by the CHAIRMAN, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author of the paper.

June 6th, 1906.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. STEBBING read a paper on the Early Architectural History of the Parish Church of Worth in Sussex, illustrated by a plan and photographs.

After observations from the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author of the paper.

Subsequently Mr. STEBBING read a paper on the Architecture of Denham Church in Bucks, illustrated by photographs; a vote of thanks was accorded the author for his paper.

July 4th, 1906.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE, V.P.S.A., read a paper on the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu, illustrated by plans. Mr. Hope's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 129.

After a discussion by Mr. KEYSER, Mr. GREG, Mr. DALE, and the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was accorded the author of the paper.

November 7th, 1906.

Mr. DEWICK, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. H. B. WALTERS, F.S.A., read a paper on Worcestershire Bell-Founders, illustrated by rubbings and photographs. Mr. Walters' paper appears in the *Journal* on page 187.

After a discussion by Sir HENRY HOWORTH and the author, a vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Walters.

Mr. HENRY WILSON read a paper by Dr. FRYER on the Effigy of John Caperton, Rector of Rendlesham. Dr. Fryer's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 194.

After observations from the CHAIRMAN, Sir HENRY HOWORTH, Mr. MAY, Judge BAYLIS, and Mr. ETHERINGTON SMITH, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author and reader of the paper.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, seconded by Judge BAYLIS, a vote of condolence was accorded in the name of the Institute to the family of the late Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, for thirty years a distinguished member of this Society.

December 5th, 1906.

Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. PHILIP M. JOHNSTON read a paper on Church Chests of the Thirteenth Century in England, with lantern illustrations.

After a discussion, taken part in by Messrs. B. PLOWMAN, DRUCE, STEBBING, and the CHAIRMAN, Mr. JOHNSTON replied, and a vote of thanks was accorded to him.

The TREASURER read a short paper on Spurious and Forged Antiquities, with specimens thereof exhibited by himself and Mr. HOPE. Mr. Hilton's paper appears in the *Journal* on page 244.

A discussion thereon was taken part in by Messrs. HOPE, STEPHENSON and STEBBING.

### Report of the Council for the year 1905-1906.

The Council has the honour to present its Report, the sixty-fourth since the origin of the Institute, showing its financial condition and progress during the year.

The printed Cash Account, prepared as usual by the Chartered Accountants, now placed before the Members, is, it is hoped, a clear statement of income and expenditure, as well as a record of the investment regarded as capital, now consisting of £1,500 Metropolitan two and a half per cent. stock.

The balance of cash at the bankers at the end of 1905 was £121 18s. 11d. All charges appertaining to the year are paid; and it should be noted that five parts of the *Journal* have been issued and paid for in the year, thus bringing the publication of the *Journal* up to date.

Six members' subscriptions are in arrear for the year 1905.

The six Members of the Council who retire in rotation according to the rules are Messieurs Le Gros, Dewick, Herbert Jones, Lyell, Challenor Smith and Longden. It is recommended that Messieurs Dewick, Jones, Lyell and Longden be re-elected, and that the following Members be elected and added to the Council, namely, Messieurs E. H. Fison and Henry Horncastle.

One Vice-President retires by rotation, Dr. Munro, and Mr. Le Gros is recommended in his place.

The Council recommends that Dr. Munro be appointed an Honorary Vice-President in the place of the late Lord Alwyne Compton, who had been a Member of the Institute for sixty-two years.

The number of new subscribing Members elected during 1905 was twenty-three, of whom one is a life-compounder. The loss by resignation and death was thirteen, two of the latter being life members.

Among those who have passed away the Council regrets to record the names of Lord Leigh and Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, both of whom served the office of President of the Annual Meetings at Leamington and Southampton respectively.

Through the exertions of the joint honorary Editors the *Journal* has been brought out closely up to date.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1905.

**H. MILLS BRANFORD & Co.,** *Chartered Accountants,*  
**3 Broad Street Buildings,**  
*London, E.C., 6th June, 1906.*

HENRY HORNCASTLE,  
PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, } *Hon. Auditors.*

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- 1887 Evans, A. J., Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Litt.D., F.S.A., Youlbury, Abingdon.
- 1861 Evans, Sir J., K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Britwell, Berkhamsted.
- 1900 Fagan, Lieut.-General C. S. F., Feltrim, Topsham Road, Exeter.
- 1894 Farquharson, Major Victor, F.S.A., Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1898 Farrer, William, Esq., Hall Garth, near Carnforth.
- 1865 Felton, W. V., Esq., Sandgate, Pulborough, S.O., Sussex.
- 1885 Fison, E. H., Esq., Stoke House, Ipswich.
- 1906 Floyer, Rev. J. K., M.A., F.S.A., Warton Vicarage, Carnforth.
- 1884 Foster, J. E., Esq., 30, Petty Cury, Cambridge.
- 1900 Fountain, F., Esq., 44, Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.
- 1904 Fox, F. F., Esq., F.S.A., Yate House, Yate, S.O.
- 1883 Fox, G. E., Esq., Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A., 99, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.
- 1906 Fox, W. H., Esq., F.S.A., 9, Austin Friars, E.C.
- 1858 Foxcroft, E. T. D., Esq., Hinton Charterhouse, Bath.
- L. 1860 Freshfield, E., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 31, Old Jewry, E.C.
- L. 1898 Fryer, Alfred C., Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A., 13, Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1874 Furniss, T. S., Esq., Higham House, Stratford St. Mary, Colchester.
- 1897 Garstin, J. R., Esq., M.A., D.L., F.S.A., Braganstown, Castlebellingham, S.O., Co. Louth.
- 1904 Gilroy, Captain Alistair, Dallicot, Bridgnorth.
- 1900 Giuseppe, Montague S., Esq., F.S.A., 23, Kenilworth Avenue, Wimbledon, S.W.
- 1887 Gleadowe, T. S., Esq., M.A., 11, Stanley Place, Chester.
- 1891 Goddard, Rev. E. H., M.A., Clyffe Vicarage, Swindon.
- 1905 Goddard, Mrs., 20, Randolph Crescent, W.
- 1898 Goldney, F. B., Esq., F.S.A., Abbot's Barton, Canterbury.
- 1897 Goolden, R. E., Esq., F.S.A., Horton Grange, Maidenhead.
- 1879 Gosselin-Grimshawe, H. R. H., Esq., Bengoe Hall, Hertford.
- 1898 Grafton, Miss, Wessington Court, Woolhope, Hereford.
- 1902 Grant, Miss R. H., Monckton House, Alverstoke, Gosport.
- 1895 Green, H. J., Esq., 31, Castle Meadow, Norwich.
- 1899 Greg, Mrs., Coles, Buntingford, S.O., Herts.
- 1902 Greg, T. T., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Coles, Buntingford, S.O., Herts.
- 1906 Haines, C. R., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Skeyne House, Pulborough, S.O., Sussex.
- L. 1886 Hale-Hilton, W., Esq. (*Hon. Sec.*), 60, Montagu Square, W.
- 1900 Hale-Hilton, Mrs., 60, Montagu Square, W.

## Date of Election.

- 1905 Hammond, Mrs., 11, Norfolk Square, W.  
 1904 Hardinge-Tyler, G. D., Esq., B.A. (*Hon. Editor*), 35, Courtfield Road, S.W.  
 L. 1870 Harland, H. S., Esq., F.S.A., 8, Arundel Terrace, Brighton.  
 1902 Harrison, Rev. F. W., Cleveland Manse, Thornaby, Stockton-on-Tees.  
 1906 Harrison, H. E., Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W.  
 1902 Harvey, T. H., Esq., Blackbrook Grove, Fareham.  
 L. 1885 Haverfield, F. J., Esq., M.A., Hon. LL.D., Aberdeen, F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.  
 1898 Hill, Rev. A. Du Boulay, M.A., The Rectory, East Bridgford, Nottingham.  
 1865 Hilton, J., Esq., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 60, Montagu Square, W.  
 1891 Hobson, W. H., Esq., 130, High Street, Maryport.  
 L. 1884 Hodgkin, T., Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A., Barmoor Castle, Beal, S.O., Northumberland.  
 1903 Hodgson, J. C., Esq., Hon. M.A. Durham, F.S.A., Abbey Cottage, Alnwick.  
 L. 1890 Hooper, J. H., Esq., M.A., Tutnall, near Worcester.  
 1891 Hope, W. H. St. John, Esq., M.A., Burlington House, W.  
 1902 Horncastle, H., Esq., Lindisaye, Woodham Road, Woking.  
 L. 1875 Horner, J. F. F., Esq., Mells Park, Frome.  
 1894 Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (*President*), 30, Collingham Place, S.W.  
 1905 Howorth, Humfrey N., Esq., B.A., 30, Collingham Place, S.W.  
 1904 Howorth, Rupert B., Esq., B.A. (*Hon. Editor*), 6, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
 1885 Hudd, E. A., Esq., F.S.A., 108, Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.  
 L. 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street, Lancaster.  
 1901 Hulme, Miss, 10, Colosseum Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 1905 Hunt, Mrs., 11, Warwick Square, S.W.  
  
 1892 Inge, Rev. J., M.A., Gayton Rectory, Alford, Lincolnshire.  
  
 L. 1885 Jackson, Rev. Canon Vincent, M.A., Bottesford Rectory, Nottingham.  
 L. 1878 James, Edmund, Esq., 3, Temple Gardens, E.C.  
 1900 Jefferies, Miss, St. Helen's Lodge, Ipswich.  
 L. 1877 Jex-Blake, Very Rev. T. W., D.D., F.S.A., The Deanery, Wells.  
 1901 Johnston, Philip M., Esq., 21, De Crespigny Park, Denmark Hill, S.E.

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

## Date of Election.

- 1905 Johnston-Foster, Mrs., Moor Park, Farnham.
- L. 1878 Jones, Herbert, Esq., F.S.A., 42, Shooters Hill Road,  
Blackheath, S.E.
- 1852 Jones, J. Cove, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley Hall, Warwick.
  
- 1895 Kemplay, Miss, 48, Leinster Gardens, W.
- 1896 Kerry, W. H. R., Esq., The Sycamores, Windermere.
- 1904 Key, Captain G. T., R.N., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
- 1874 Keyser, C. E., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court,  
Reading.
- L. 1888 Knill, Sir J., Bart., South Vale House, Blackheath, S.E.
- 1882 Knocker, Sir Wollaston, C.B., Castle Hill House, Dover.
- 1895 Knowles, W. H., Esq., F.S.A., 25, Collingwood Street,  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
  
- 1906 Larkworthy, Colonel, Worcester.
- 1895 Lascelles, Mrs., Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
- 1899 Layard, Miss, Rookwood, Fonnereau Road, Ipswich.
- 1893 Le Bas, Rev. H. V., M.A., The Charterhouse, E.C.
- L. 1887 Legg, J. Wickham, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 47, Green Street,  
Park Lane, W.
- 1891 Le Gros, Gervaise, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Seafield, Jersey.
- 1906 Leicester, H. A., Esq., The Whitstones, Worcester.
- 1906 Lind, G. J., Esq., Rua do Golgotha, 121, Oporto, Portugal.
- 1895 Linton, H. P., Esq., Llandaff Place, Llandaff.
- L. 1876 Liverpool, The Earl of, P.C., F.S.A., Kirkham Abbey,  
York.
- 1896 Livett, Rev. G. M., B.A., F.S.A., Wateringbury Vicarage,  
Maidstone.
- 1871 Llangattock, The Lord, F.S.A., The Hendre, Monmouth.
- 1899 Lloyd, A. H., Esq., Stone Ridge, Disley, Stockport.
- 1892 Lloyd, R. Duppa, Esq., 2, Addison Crescent, Kensington, W.
- 1886 Long, Colonel W., C.M.G., Woodlands, Congresbury,  
Bristol.
- 1884 Longden, Henry, Esq., 447, Oxford Street, W.
- 1893 Longden, Mrs., 6, Westbourne Park Villas, W.
- L. 1889 Lushington, Judge, K.C., 36, Kensington Square, W.
- 1895 Lyell, A. H., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 9, Cranley Gardens, South  
Kensington, S.W.
- 1897 Lyell, Capt. F. H., 2, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1903 Lynam, Charles, Esq., F.S.A., Stoke-on-Trent.
  
- 1898 Macbean, Dr. R. B., St. Mary's Gate, Lancaster.
- L. 1887 Malet, Colonel H., Radnor House, near Sandgate, Kent.
- 1898 Mangles, H. A., Esq., Littleworth Cross, Seale, Farnham.
- 1901 Marshall, Arthur, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., King Street, Notting-  
ham.

## Date of Election.

- 1904 Marshall, George, Esq., F.S.A., The Manor House,  
Breinton, Hereford.
- 1882 Marshall, R. D., Esq., Castlerigg Manor, Keswick.
- L. 1904 Martin, E. P., Esq., The Hill, Abergavenny.
- 1885 Martineau, P. M., Esq., Littleworth, Esher.
- 1899 Master, C. Hoskin, Esq., Exbury House, Southampton.
- 1905 May, Leonard M., Esq., 60, Shooters Hill Road, Black-  
heath, S.E.
- 1905 Medicott, W. B., Esq., 18, Campden Hill Gardens, W.
- 1883 Michell, W. G., Esq., M.A., Hillmorton Road, Rugby.
- 1885 Middlemore-Whithard, Rev. T. M., M.A., Hawkesley,  
Douglas Avenue, Exmouth.
- 1902 Miller, W. E., Esq., 9, St. Petersburg Place, W.
- 1899 Milne, Miss H. A., The Trees, Church Road, Upper Nor-  
wood, S.E.
- 1845 Mitchell, F. J., Esq., F.S.A., Llanfrechfa Grange, Caerleon,  
Mon.
- L. 1884 Mottram, J., Esq., The Birches, 21, Bracondale, Norwich.
- 1898 Munro, Robert, Esq., M.A., M.D., LL.D., Elmbank, Largs,  
S.O., Ayrshire.
- 1901 Murray, G. S. D., Esq., F.S.A., 47, Duke Street, St.  
James's, S.W.
- 1883 Nanson, W., Esq., B.A., F.S.A., c/o E. J. Nanson, Esq.,  
Northacre, Northaw, Potter's Bar, S.O.
- 1889 Neale, C. M., Esq., 18, Tierney Road, Streatham Hill,  
S.W.
- L. 1890 Nesham, R., Esq., Utrecht House, Queen's Road, Clapham  
Park, S.W.
- L. 1883 Niven, W., Esq., F.S.A., Marlow Place, Great Marlow.
- 1898 Nixon, Miss, 43, Galgate, Barnard Castle.
- 1905 Norman, Philip, Esq., F.S.A., 45, Evelyn Gardens, S.W.
- L. 1883 Northumberland, The Duke of, K.G., P.C., F.S.A., Alnwick  
Castle.
- 1898 Nuttall, J. R., Esq., Thornfield, Lancaster.
- L. 1905 Oke, Alfred W., Esq., B.A., LL.M., 32, Denmark Villas,  
Hove.
- 1888 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., 5, Queen's Gardens, W.
- 1906 Oliver, E. W., Esq., New Place, Lingfield, S.O., Surrey.
- 1897 Palmer, F. J. Morton, Esq., M.B., Holford, Thrale Road,  
Streatham Park, S.W.
- 1902 Panton, J. A., Esq., 29, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
- 1898 Parkinson, J., Esq., 36, Regent Street, Lancaster.

## Date of Election.

- 1904 Partington, Miss, The Lawn, Birstall, Leicester,  
 L. 1880 Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Wickentree House, Kirton-in-Lindsey.  
 1890 Pearce, W., Esq., F.S.A., Perrott House, Pershore.  
 1898 Peele, E. C., Esq., Cyngfeld, Shrewsbury.  
 1896 Peers, C. R., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 96, Grosvenor Road, S.W.  
 1903 Peers, Mrs., Harrow Weald Vicarage, Middlesex.  
 L. 1883 Petrie, W. M. F., Esq., D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.S., University College, Gower Street, W.C.  
 L. 1886 Phelps, Rev. L. R., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.  
 1902 Pim, Rev. H. Bedford, M.A., Leaside, Spencer Road, Bromley, Kent.  
 1903 Plowman, H., Esq., F.S.A., 23, Steele's Road, N.W.  
 1895 Ponting, C. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wye House, Marlborough.  
 1880 Porter, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.S.A., Claines Vicarage, Worcester.  
 1900 Porter, J. H., Esq., Ealdham, 103, High Road, Lee, S.E.  
 L. 1866 Powell, Sir F. S., Bart., M.P., Horton Old Hall, Bradford.  
 1902 Prescott, H. M., Esq., 91, St. Mark's Road, North Kensington, W.  
 1887 Price, F. G. Hilton, Esq., Dir.S.A., F.G.S., 17, Collingham Gardens, S.W.  
 1906 Prickett, F. F., Esq., Junior Conservative Club, Albemarle Street, W.  
 1904 Pritchard, John E., Esq., F.S.A., 8, Cold Harbour Road, Redland, Bristol.  
  
 1905 Radford, H. G., Esq., F.S.A., Park Cottage, East Sheen, S.W.  
 1905 Raimes, F., Esq., Hartburn Lodge, Stockton-on-Tees.  
 L. 1862 Ramsden, Sir J. W., Bart., Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, S.O., Bucks.  
 L. 1890 Read, C. H., Esq., F.S.A., 22, Carlyle Square, S.W.  
 1905 Reader, F. W., Esq., 17, Gloucester Road, Finsbury Park, N.  
 1902 Reddie, C. S., Esq., Mwatate, Via Vai, Mombasa, British E. Africa.  
 1849 Reynardson, Rev. J. B., M.A., Careby Rectory, Stamford.  
 1898 Reynaud, Prof. L., 145, Via Rasella, Rome.  
 1894 Rice, R. Garraway, Esq., F.S.A., 23, Cyril Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, S.W.  
 1888 Richards, H., Esq., 59, Nevern Square, S.W.  
 1895 Richardson, Miss, The Starlings, Barnard Castle.  
 1897 Richardson, R. T., Esq., Barnard Castle.  
 1902 Rickards, Robert, Esq., The Priory, Usk, Mon.  
 1874 Ripon, The Marquess of, K.G., P.C., 9, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.  
 1893 Rivington, C. R., Esq., F.S.A., 74, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.  
 1893 Robinson, Rev. E. C., M.A., Hanbury Vicarage, Burton-on-Trent.  
 1898 Roper, W. O., Esq., F.S.A., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.

## Date of Election.

- 1873 Rowe, J. Brooking, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton.  
 L. 1881 Rowley, Walter, Esq., M.Inst.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S., Alder Hill, Meanwood, Leeds.  
 1880 Rudler, F. W., Esq., I.S.O., 18, St. George's Road, Kilburn, N.W.  
 1887 Ryley, T., Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W.
- 1905 Sands, Harold, Esq., F.S.A., Craythorne, Tenterden, Ashford.  
 1900 Seltman, E. J., Esq., Kinghoe, Berkhamsted.  
 1904 Smith, H. L. Etherington, Esq., M.A., East Ella, Putney, S.W.  
 1899 Smith, J. Challenor C., Esq., F.S.A., c/o Miss Wood, Uplands, Whitechurch, Reading.  
 1901 Smith, J. H. Etherington, Esq., M.A., 2, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.  
 1879 Sopwith, Mrs., 87, Barkston Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1898 Southam, H. R. H., Esq., F.S.A., Innellan, Shrewsbury.  
 1898 Statham, Rev. S. P. H., B.A., Bodmin.  
 1905 Stebbing, W. P. D., Esq., F.G.S., 8, Playfair Mansions, Queen's Club Gardens, W.  
 1886 Stephenson, Mill, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., 38, Ritherdon Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.
- 1905 Tadros, D. N., Esq., F.R.G.S., Jaffa, Palestine.  
 1901 Tanner, Mrs. Normanston, Marlborough Road, Bournemouth West.  
 1906 Tapp, W. M., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 57, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1889 Tatlock, Miss, 16, Park Square, N.W.  
 †1885 Taylor, H., Esq., F.S.A., 12, Curzon Park, Chester.  
 L. 1882 Taylor, R. W., Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Baysgarth Park, Barton-on-Humber.  
 1906 Taylor, W. T., Esq., Audnam House, near Stourbridge.  
 L. 1902 Thomas, Major G. T. Harley, F.S.A., 73, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.  
 1883 Thompson, Mrs. W. J., Elmer, Leatherhead.  
 1878 Thwaites, Mrs. W., West Bank, Blackburn.  
 1899 Tilley, Miss Edith, Elmfield, Coombe-in-Teignhead, Teignmouth.  
 L. 1887 Tredegar, The Viscount, F.S.A., Tredegar Park, Newport, Mon.  
 1905 Tristram, Rev. C., B.A., Badshot Lea, Farnham.  
 1879 Troyte-Chafyn-Grove, G., Esq., F.S.A., North Coker House, Yeovil.  
 L. 1883 Tyson, E. T., Esq., Wood Hall, Cockermouth.
- 1902 Ussher, Mrs., The Dene, Northwich.

## Date of Election.

- L. 1883 Wagner, H., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 13, Half Moon Street, W.  
 1888 Walhouse, M. J., Esq., 28, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.  
 1901 Wallis, G. H., Esq., F.S.A., The Residence, Art Museum, Nottingham.  
 L. 1886 Warburton, P. E., Esq., The Dene, Northwich.  
 1875 Way, Hon. Mrs., Sidney House, 3, Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.  
 1904 Weyman, Henry T., Esq., F.S.A., 8, Mill Street, Ludlow.  
 1894 White, J. H., Esq., Pease Hall, Springfield, Chelmsford.  
 1899 Wigan, Rev. Percy F., M.A., Puckrup Hall, Tewkesbury.  
 1895 Wilson, Mrs., Bolton-by-Bowland Rectory, Clitheroe.  
 1893 Wilson, Henry, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Farnborough, S.O., Kent.  
 1906 Wilson, Rev. J. Bowstead, M.A., F.S.A., Knightwick Rectory, Worcester.  
 L. 1889 Wilson, R. H., Esq., The Old Croft, Holmwood, Dorking.  
 1861 Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., 11, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.  
 L. 1866 Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Belmont, Sidmouth.  
 1901 Woolley, T. C. S., Esq., South Collingham, Newark-on-Trent.  
 1903 Worsfold, T. Cato, Esq., 9, Staple Inn, W.C.  
 1888 Young, A. W., Esq., 12, Hyde Park Terrace, W.

## HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

*(The number of British Honorary and Corresponding Members is limited to Ten.)*

## Date of Election.

- Barthélemy, M. Anatole de, 9, Rue d'Anjou, Paris.  
 1903 Enlart, M. Camille, 14, Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.  
 Forbes, S. Russell, Ph.D., Via della Croce 76, Rome.  
 Gosch, C. C. A., Attaché to the Legation of H.M. the King of Denmark, 21, Stanhope Gardens, S.W.  
 Greenwell, Rev. W., M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Durham.  
 1903 de Lasteyrie, M. le Comte Robert, Member of the Institute of France, 10<sup>bis</sup> Rue du Pré aux Clercs, Paris.  
 1903 Lefèvre-Pontalis, M. Eugène, 13, Rue de Phalsbourg, Paris.  
 1906 Serbat, M. Louis, 8, Rue Chateaubriand, Paris, VIII<sup>e</sup>.  
 Travers, M. Emile, 18, Rue de Chanoines, Caen.

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 1899 BRADFORD, Public Free Library.  
 1890 BRIGHTON, Public Library.  
 1902 BRISTOL, Central Library.  
 1890 CAMBRIDGE, Christ's College Library.  
 1897 „ Selwyn College Library.  
 1872 „ Trinity College Library.  
 1860 CANADA, Public Library, Toronto, c/o Messrs. C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26, Henrietta Street, W.C.  
 1905 DENMARK, Royal Library, Copenhagen.  
 1892 DORSET, County Museum, Dorchester.  
 1905 DURHAM, Chapter Library, c/o Messrs. Andrews & Co., Saddler Street.  
 1887 FRANCE, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.  
 1900 „ Institut de France, c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.  
 1906 GERMANY, Herr Gustav Koester, Buchhandlung, Heidelberg.  
 1906 „ Voss Sortiment, Buchhandlung, Leipzig.  
 1894 HULL, Subscription Library, Albion Street.  
 1872 IRELAND—Cork, Queen's College.  
 1899 „ Dublin, Science and Art Department, c/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton Street, Dublin.  
 1900 „ Dublin, National Library of Ireland, c/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton Street, Dublin.  
 1879 LEEDS, Public Library.  
 1900 „ The Leeds Library, Commercial Street.  
 1872 LEICESTER, Town Museum.  
 1872 LINCOLN AND NOTTINGHAM Archaeological Society, c/o E. M. Sympson, Esq., M.D., Deloraine Court, Lincoln.  
 1884 LIVERPOOL, Free Public Library, c/o Exors. of G. G. Walmisley, 50, Lord Street, Liverpool.  
 1844 LONDON—Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.  
 1906 „ Asher & Co., Messrs. (4 copies), 13, Bedford Street, W.C.  
 1896 „ Grevel & Co., Messrs. H., 33, King Street, W.C.  
 1884 „ Guildhall Library, E.C.  
 1898 „ Inner Temple Library, E.C.  
 1899 „ Kilburn Public Library, N.W.  
 1863 „ London Library, S.W.  
 1872 „ Royal Institution, The, W.  
 1906 „ Stock, Elliot, Esq., Paternoster Row, E.C.  
 1895 „ Wesley & Son, Messrs., 28, Essex Street, W.C.  
 1906 „ Wyman & Sons, Ltd., Messrs., Fetter Lane, E.C.



- 1872 MANCHESTER—Public Free Library.  
 1872 " Chetham's Library.  
 1895 MELBOURNE, Public Library, c/o H. B. Stuart Allen, Esq.,  
 12, Ludgate Square, E.C.  
 1872 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, Literary and Philosophical Society.  
 1877 NORWAY—University Library, Christiania, c/o Messrs.  
 Simpkin & Co., 4, Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.  
 1895 NOTTINGHAM, Free Public Library.  
 1905 OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum.  
 1895 SCOTLAND—Edinburgh, The Royal Scottish Museum.  
 1878 " Glasgow, University Library, c/o Messrs.  
 MacLehose.  
 1897 SHERBORNE School Library, c/o Mr. F. Bennett.  
 1906 U.S.A., Athenæum, Boston, Mass., c/o Messrs. Kegan  
 Paul & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.  
 1896 " Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, c/o Messrs.  
 E. G. Allen, 212A, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.  
 1872 " Peabody Institution, Baltimore, c/o Messrs. E. G.  
 Allen, 212A, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.  
 1891 " Public Library, Chicago, c/o Messrs. B. F.  
 Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.  
 1902 " University of California, c/o Messrs. B. F. Stevens  
 & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.  
 1896 " New York Public Library, c/o Messrs. B. F.  
 Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.  
 1906 WEST HAM, Public Library, Stratford, E.

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### SOCIETIES, LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

- ANTHROPOLOGICAL Institute, 3, Hanover Square, W.  
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Croatian Archaeological Society, Zagreb.  
 BELGIUM, Academie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.  
 " Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.  
 BIBLICAL Archaeology, Society of, 37, Great Russell Street, W.C.  
 BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE Archaeological Society, c/o Mr. J.  
 Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester.  
 BRITISH Archaeological Association, 32, Sackville Street, W.  
 BUCKINGHAMSHIRE Architectural and Archaeological Society, c/o  
 A. H. Cocks, Esq., Poynetts, Skirmett, Henley-on-Thames.  
 CAMBRIAN Archaeological Association, c/o C. J. Clark, Esq., 65,  
 Chancery Lane, W.C.  
 CAMBRIDGE Antiquarian Society, c/o J. E. Foster, Esq., 10, Trinity  
 Street.  
 CLIFTON Antiquarian Club, c/o A. E. Hudd, Esq., F.S.A., 108,  
 Pembroke Road.  
 DERBYSHIRE Archaeological and Natural History Society, c/o Mr.  
 P. H. Currey, 3, Market Place, Derby.

- EAST HERTS Archaeological Society, Bishop's Stortford.  
 ESSEX Archaeological Society, c/o Rev. T. H. Curling, 11, Rawstorn Road, Colchester.  
 FINLAND, Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors.  
 FRANCE—Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente, Angoulême.  
 „ Société Archéologique de Bordeaux.  
 „ Société Archéologique du Midi, Toulouse.  
 „ Société de Borda, Dax.  
 „ Société Scientifique, Historique et Archéologique de la Corrèze.  
 IRELAND—The Royal Society of Antiquaries of, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.  
 JERSEY—Société Jersiaise, 9, Pier Road, St. Heliers.  
 KENT Archaeological Society, c/o G. Payne, Esq., The Museum, Maidstone.  
 LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE Historical Society, c/o G. C. Yates, Esq., F.S.A., Holmfield, Westbourne Park, Urmston, Manchester.  
 LEICESTERSHIRE Archaeological and Architectural Society, 10, New Street, Leicester.  
 LONDON—Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.  
 „ Huguenot Society, The, 90, Regent's Park Road, N.W.  
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